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VOLUME XXX 1968

Dr. Richard Bertram Whitehead Commemoration Volume

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

P. O. BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI-5

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This Volume of the
Journal of Numismatic Society of India
Is Most Respectfully Dedicated
To The Memory of
Richard Bertram Whitehead

JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

Vol. XXX

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1968

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HOMAGE

Dr. R. B. Whitehead expired on March 4, 1967. His demise marked the end of a period in the history of the Numismatic Society of India because he was the last surviving founder member of the Society. He died at the age of eighty six and half, out of which he served the cause of Indian numismatic studies for over 50 years. In someway or another, all through his life, he was in active touch with the work of the Numismatic Society of India as well as with the Indian numismatic scholarship. Only few months before his death, I had the privilege of presenting him the Honorary Fellowship Copper Plate of the Numismatic Society of India at a ceremonial function in the office of the Indian High Commission, London. He was the Secretary and the Treasurer of the Society for many years. Naturally the Numismatic Society of India and all students of Indian numismatic owe very much indeed to him. It is to express our feelings of sincere gratitude to him, we are bringing out this issue of the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India as a homage to his memory.

A. K. NARAIN

Late Dr. Richard Bertram Whitehead

(BORN 6th NOVEMBER, 1879 : DIED 4th MARCH 1967)

RICHARD BERTRAM WHITEHEAD

1879-1967

A. D. H. BIVAR

The death of Richard Bertram Whitehead at Cambridge on 4 March 1967 deprives the Society of a Fellow who for more than half a century was the leading authority on many aspects of Indian numismatics. His labours played a major part in establishing the study of coinage as an essential technique of Indian historical research, and in setting for this branch of numismatics, after the fruitful amateurism of the nineteenth century, the highest standards of critical scholarship. Nor was his influence limited to his own writings. He freely communicated his enthusiasm to many in India and elsewhere, and throughout his retirement kept in touch with the young scholars coming forward to make their contribution to the subject, to whom his advice and encouragement were of the greatest value.

He was born at Liverpool on 6 November 1879, the eldest son of the Reverend Robert Whitehead, M.A., and was educated at Liverpool College, from which he won an Open Scholarship in Mathematics to Exeter College, Oxford. In 1901 he took First Class Honours in his subject, and in the following year was selected for the Indian Civil Service. He reached the Punjab in November 1903, and after a short stay in Delhi, was posted to Ambala as Assistant Commissioner in the following February. In April 1905 he was transferred to Kangra, but was sent to Kulu on emergency duties in August, after the Dharmasala earthquake, in which the previous Sub-Divisional Officer had been killed. He was still there at the time of Lord Kitchener's visit, and accompanied the Commander-in-Chief on his tour of the valley.

In 1906 came his first essay in historical research, when he was posted to Jullundur on special duty for the compilation of the *Gazetteers* of Maler Kotla, Faridkot, and Kapurthala States. The *Gazetteers*, containing a wealth of local information, historical, economic, and sociological, duly appeared, though it is not now possible to single out White-

head's individual contributions. In the years which followed he served in many Punjab stations—Delhi, Gurgaon, Sialkot, Lahore, Dalhousie, Attock, and Amritsar; and after 1914 at Rupar, Ambala, and Hoshiyarpur—and amongst his official duties came increasingly to specialize in 'Settlement' work; that is to say, the periodic reassessments of the land revenue, a duty calling for deep knowledge of the cultivators and of rural life, and assigned by Government to officers who enjoyed the confidence of the villagers. It was no doubt in the course of these duties that Whitehead came to understand the unique historical interest of the coin finds that were being made in the Punjab at the time; and which especially for such poorly documented periods as those of the Indo-Greeks (second century B.C.) and Indo-Scythians (first century B.C.) often constitute our principal source of information. He was keenly aware (to quote the Persian verse he was to place on the title-page of the third volume of his *Punjab Museum Catalogue*) that 'Men read coins in the name of each one who smites with the sword'. He was to develop the theme in a stimulating article, 'The Place of Coins in Indian History', published in 1913. For fourteen years from 1907 he was official examiner of treasure trove for the Punjab Government. His first publications had appeared in 1909, one of these being his notable account of historical coins found during his examination of the Bahawalpur State Toshakhana ('Storehouse'). He appreciated that for the full significance of the coin finds to be realized, some means of communication between the scattered research workers would be needed. So in 1910, with six other enthusiasts—Sir John Stanley, the Revd. Dr. G. P. Taylor, Framji Jamasji Thanawala, Richard Burn, H.R. Nevill, and H. Nelson Wright—he took part in the meeting at Allahabad at which was founded the Numismatic Society of India. To Whitehead, elected both Honorary Secretary and Treasurer of the society, fell much of the work of organization. He continued to exercise these functions until 1921. The new society grew and flourished, and the initiative of its founders came to be widely appreciated in scholarly circles in India.

Whitehead's best known publications were perhaps those devoted to the Indo-Greek coinage. When in 1938 W. W. Tarn published his epoch-making work, *The Greeks in Bactria and India,* he drew constantly on Whitehead's material in this field. At times the imagination of the historian went beyond the bounds which caution had imposed on the numismatist (as Whitehead later observed with some amusement), yet we are left in no doubt of the importance which Tarn attached to

the work which had been done on coinage. At the same time, Whitehead did not neglect Indo-Muslim numismatics. He took special interest in the issues of the Mughal empire, and his article 'The Mint-towns of the Mughal Emperors of India' (1912) was acclaimed as a major advance. His work on Nadir Shah and the Durranis of Afghanistan supplied a much-needed guide to a series previously neglected, and he later wrote an account of the gold coinage of the sultans of Kashmir. It was to his three main periods of interest, the Indo-Greeks, the Mughals, and the Durranis, that Whitehead devoted the three volumes of his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore,* which soon became established as an essential work of reference. The first two volumes, which appeared in 1914, were awarded the Prix Drouin of the French Académie des Inscriptions. In 1936 the volume on the Durranis completed the trilogy. The *Catalogue* as a whole was widely and with justice regarded as the most important contribution of the century to Indian numismatics from a single pen.

His shorter works gave evidence of equal authority and penetration. In his 'Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics' (*NC* 1923) he made known a spectacular find of Indo-Bactrian tetradrachms; while in the series 'Notes on the Indo-Greeks' (*NC* 1940, 1947, and 1950) he reported and commented on the numerous discoveries in this field over nearly two decades. It was his way to recall from time to time some little-known coin, or overlooked discovery, quoted in the older literature, and point its relevance to current studies; so that besides his new material, which was copious, he also provided a stimulating commentary on the earlier writers. No less important, indeed, were his papers on the portrait medals and zodiacal coins of Jahāngīr (*NC* 1929, 1931). Whilst his essay in historical geography, 'The River Courses of the Panjab and Sind' (*Indian Antiquary* 1932) raises numerous problems of ancient settlement that will long be investigated.

After his retirement from the Punjab in 1922 Whitehead settled in Cambridge. In 1928 he married Margaret Elizabeth, widow of James Hector Barnes, I.A.S., and daughter of Colonel F.T. Edben, Indian Army, who died, after a sad accident, on 23 June 1961. He had been admitted a Fellow-Commoner of St. John's College, and for many years was Adviser to Indian Students at Cambridge. There he found time to supervise the research of successive students in Indian History, and several of his pupils achieved distinction. All those who sought his advice will remember his generous encouragement, his un-

failing courtesy and gentleness towards the researcher, his old-world charm, and kindly sense of humour; but above all, his balanced and dependable judgement of a coin or of an idea, and the meticulous accuracy acquired from his mathematical training.

In the years that followed he was active in the work of the Royal Numismatic Society, and was elected Foreign Secretary in 1943, Vice-President in 1953, and Honorary Vice-President from 1962. In 1936 he had presided over the Oriental Section of the International Numismatic Congress in London. Of special value too were the bonds of friendship and co-operation which he maintained with numismatists in India, to the benefit of studies in both countries. Recognition of his work was forthcoming from many quarters. In 1921 he was elected a Corresponding Member of the American Numismatic Society; in 1922 he was awarded a special silver medal of the Numismatic Society of India, and the bronze medal of that society in 1934. He was elected a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1931. In 1940 he was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Letters at Cambridge, and in the same year was awarded the Medal of the Royal Numismatic Society. He received in 1947 the Huntington Medal of the American Numismatic Society, and in 1962 the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay. Since 1953 he had been an honorary member of the International Numismatic Commission, and in 1966 he was elected first Honorary Fellow of the Numismatic Society of India, which he had helped to found fifty-six years before. Thus Whitehead's work for numismatics formed a link with the discoveries of an earlier generation. His own contribution to the advances which followed was impressive, and kept alive a highly productive branch of study.

R. B. WHITEHEAD—A PERSONAL RECOLLECTION

HUGH SHORTT

It was during the latter years of the 1939-45 war while serving with the 9/10 Baluch Regiment on the North West Frontier of India, that the idea of collecting Indo-Greek and derivative coins first occurred to me as an opportunity which should not be missed. I knew little about them, apart from a small collection given me in 1928 by Mrs. Littledale, a friend of my father, whose husband served in the Panjab and another small collection which Major M.F.C. Matrin had given me in 1938. My active interest was aroused by a remark in R.B. Whitehead's article "The Eastern Satrap Sophytes" in *Num. Chron.* III, 1943, which had just reached me, in which he remarked that for the ordinary collector it was essential to go to the Rawalpindi dealers. My first approach, to Dewan Chand Ram Rakha Mal in the Cantonment Bazar, produced only one or two common coins, but from there I was directed to the city and from that time on had continual and rewarding dealings first with Sujan Singh then with Śri Chand and later still with Sohan Lal and his uncle Rup Lal in the British Infantry Bazar.

Ever since 1942 when I was stationed in Tunbridge Wells, I had kept up a correspondence with J.W.E. Pearce, though his interest lay entirely in the later Roman coinage and it must have saddened him to see mine veering more and more to the coinage of India and especially the Indo-Greeks. However he passed on my letters to John Allan of the British Museum and to R. B. Whitehead. With the former I corresponded while I was still in India, and with the latter as soon as I returned to England in 1915, when he was kind enough to send me some of his offprints. It was another nine months or so before we met in August 1946, and during that time I had formed a mental picture of him from his writing which was strangely inaccurate. Both his handwriting and the great courtesy with which he expressed himself led me to envisage an elderly academic with silky white hair and a beard. Courteous he certainly was at all times, but there was little of the professor about him. His hair it is true was white but somewhat unkempt and sartorially his

clothes left something to be desired, while his voice always retained evidence of his north country origin. We became good friends and he taught me a great deal. I visited him and Mrs. Whitehead at their house in Millington Road, Cambridge, and more than once he came to Salisbury. It is my great sorrow that I should have been in part, the occasion of his publishing in the *Numismatic Chronicle* 1947 a number of coins, which later proved to be false.

From our correspondence which lasted until 1962, since which time I only saw him at occasional meetings, as his health was evidently failing, I learnt a certain amount about his life and his character. He went to school in Liverpool and then to Exeter College Oxford, my own college, though it was Cambridge that later honoured him with a doctorate and which he made the home of his retirement. From the university he went into the Indian Civil Service and he told me that it was in 1905 that he first took an interest in Indo-Greek coins, yet his first written work that I can trace was in the *Numismatic Supplement* of 1909 and concerned Muslim coins, on which he wrote some 27 articles in all, apart from the second and third volumes of the *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum* covering the Mughals and Durranis. Yet surely it was the field of Indo-Greek and coinages derived from them that he made in his greatest mark and wrote his classics. Before turning to these, other events throw light on his character and achievements. In 1910 he became the Founder Secretary and Treasurer of our Society. He told me that in the following year while D.C. at Attock, a Sasanian silver dish was brought to him for sale. However, realising its importance, he arranged for the dealer to offer it to the British Museum, which paid £250 for it. It was a similar integrity which caused him to present to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, his magnificent double stater of Kadphises II (*Num. Sup.* XIV, 1910, pl. XXXIV, 19.), and it was a bitter blow to hear later from Sir John Marshall, that it had been stolen by substitution. In the same generous spirit he also presented to the Indian Museum an example of the almost unique Taxila gold coin (*B.M.C.* pl. XXXV, 11). One can only hope that it fared better.

Whitehead was a collector in the best sense, in that he collected coins because they interested him and in order to study them. His own collection he sold to the British Museum and in his latter years had only a few, though extremely rare, coins of the White Huns, about which I believe he intended to write a paper. Unusual and unnoticed coins,

like the small square Śaka coin in my collection which he published, (*Num. Chron.* VII, 1947, pl. II, 9), interested him as much if not more than the rare portrait coins in fine style and precious metal. He often asked me if I did not find it extremely difficult to obtain the rare bronze coins in the Indo-Greek and later series, remarking that he had only ever seen two of the small square of Menander with wheel and palm types (*B.M.C.* pl. XII, 7), and never a forgery of it. Of all the rich and rare coins in the Haughton sale (1958) I believe that the coin which interested him most was no. 521 on plate XXIV of the catalogue, a rather unprepossessing tetradrachm of Azes I with Nike on the reverse.

It is no part of this memoir to produce a bibliography of Whitehead's writings but some of them must certainly be mentioned. The approximate number of his articles on the Muslim series has already been given and here one need only mention his particular interest in the zodiacal coinage of the Mughals. His greater and abiding work was, however, in the realms of the Indo-Greeks. His first paper on Indo-Greek coins appeared in the *Numismatic Supplement* for 1910, to be followed with remarkable speed in 1914 by his classic first volume of the *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore.* Then, after an essay on *The Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of N. W. India* written in 1922 for the American Numismatic Society's *Numismatic Notes and Monographs,* come the important series in the *Numismatic Chronicle,* the first called "Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics" in 1923 and then simply "Notes on the Indo-Greeks" I, II and III, in 1940, 1947 and 1950. It is sad that an intended fourth part never appeared. This may well have been due to his wife's death, a blow from which he never really recovered, as his own health became precarious from that time and to his great sorrow prevented him from visiting India for the Golden Jubilee of the Society.

He wrote on Indian coins in history for the Panjab Historical Society and many years later on the same subject for the *Centennial Publication* of the American Numismatic Society. His contributions on Sophytes, Aspavarma and Charles Masson all in *Num. Chron.* and others on a find of White Hun coins (*Num. Sup.* XXI, 1913) and on the "So-called Sun-God of Multan" (*India Antiqua* 1947), though lesser works, were scholarly studies, and his "Notes on Rare and Unique Coins" in Sir John Marshall's *Taxila* 1951 is important to archaeologists, historians and collectors.

Whitehead's views on Indian coins were carefully thought out and therefore firmly held, but he was never dogmatic. When Sir William

Tarn's great work on the Indo-Greeks appeared in 1938 he praised it for the way the author had made use of every scrap of evidence, but it was not difficult to see that his own views were often very different, just as they so often were from those of E.J. Rapson. He attributed the shortcomings of both to the fact that they had not lived in India and therefore had no local knowledge. There were also his heroes, among whom may be reckoned Sir Alexander Cunningham, C.J. Rodgers and E.T. Newell.

Doctor Whitehead was honoured for his work from time to time, and these honours gave him I think, great pleasure, not because he was a conceited man but for exactly the opposite reason. He was made while in India, Honorary Numismatist to the Panjab Government, as C.J. Rodgers had been to the Government of India. Later he was made Doctor of Letters of Cambridge University, received the medal of the Royal Numismatic Society in 1940 and became one of its Honorary Vice-Presidents. Then some two years ago at a ceremony in London he received the Honorary Fellowship Copper Plate of the Indian Numismatic Society, and one likes to think that this gave him as much pleasure as it did his friends. We were not to see him on many more occasions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS
OF
DR. R. B. WHITEHEAD

COMPILED BY

A. D. H. BIVAR

The dates according to which this bibliography is arranged are, throughout, those which appear on the title-page of the publications listed : such dates may not date of publication, more especially in the period of the Second World War and afterwards.[1]

Books

1910

Catalogue of the Collection of Coins illustrative of the History of the Rulers of Dehli upto 1858 *A.D. in the Dehli Museum of Archaeology* Calcutta

Report on the Administration of the Delhi Crown Lands Lahore

1914

Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore
(i) *Indo-Greek Coins,*
(ii) *Coins of the Mughal Emperors* Oxford

1922

The Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of the Northwestern India American Numismatic Society, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs,* No. 13.

1934

Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore
(iii) *Coins of Nadir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty* Oxford

The following abbreviations are used :

JASB *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JNSI *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
JPHS *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*
JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
NC *Numismatic Chronicle*
NS *Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*

Articles

1909

The Mughal Mint of Gokulgarh *JASB, NS* xi (68),329-30

Old Coins in the Bahawalpur State Toshakhana *JASB, NS* xi (69), 331-46

1910

Dams of Akbar struck at Jaunpur and Ajmer mints *JASB, NS* xiii (80), 242-4

Some rare Indo-Greek and Scythian Coins *JASB, NS* xiv (82), 557-65

Some rare Coins of the Paṭhān Sultāns of Dehli *JASB, NS* xiv (83), 565-9

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1911

On an unpublished Mediaeval Coin *JASB, NS* xvi (97), 700-1

1912

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1915

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THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS AND THE QUESTION OF THEIR PROTOTYPES

A. N. LAHIRI

The Punch-marked coins undoubtedly form the most extensive monetary system of ancient India. But, inspite of an extensive research on the Punch-marked coins, we have not been able to solve quite a few problems surrounding this enigmatic currency, what to speak of the question of its evolution.

'In respect of form' G. Macdonald[1] characterises the Punch-marked coins as 'the simplest of all'. It is perhaps from such observations that A. Cunningham[2] maintained that the Punch-marked coins "certainly belong to the very infancy of coinage". But subsequent researches have changed our view about the nature of the Punch-marked coins. "A close examination," says J. Allan,[3] "shows that the types are as distinct as those on any well-known series. They are far from being a primitive type of coins." In fact, it is now held that the extensive silver Punch-marked coinage, unique in many respects, represents rather an advanced form of numismatic issue, and, as V.A. Smith[4] observes, "was wonderfully uniform in weight and general style from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin". Numismatists have even discerned from amongst the overwhelmingly numerous Punch-marked coins *earlier* 'local' issues[5]

1. *Evolution of Coinage*, p. 57.
2. *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 43. R. B. Whitehead also saw in the Punch-marked coins " money in the very infancy of the numismatic art " (*The Pre-Mohommedan Coinage of North-West India* : *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 13, p. 42.)
3. *BMCAI*, p. xix.
4. *IMC*, Vol. I, p. 135.
5. Durga Prasad, for instance, discerns from amongst the Punch-marked coins issues of different periods and localities : *NS*, XLVII, pp. N. 71 ff. J. Allan sees in the Sahet Mahet and the Paila finds of Punch-marked coins issues of Kośala and Pañchāla respectively : *BMCAI*, p. lxxi. P. L. Gupta also distinguishes local (*Mahājanapada* and *Janapada*) issues of silver Punch-marked coins : *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 134.

and *later* 'universal' ones[1] meant for circulation throughout the country.

But strangely enough, J. Allan makes an interesting but curious remark about the question of the evolution of the Punch-marked coins. "One remarkable feature about them", says he,[2] "is that they show no sign of evolution." We, on the contrary, believe that a comparative study of all known categories of these coins will clearly reveal different stages of their evolution. In fact, as we shall now see, A. D. H. Bivar[3] has even seen the 'prototypes' of the Punch-marked coins in a few 'Counter-marked' pieces of non-Indian origin.

To Bivar the otherwise unrecorded 'Counter-marked' coins "seem to have been in circulation contemporarily with, and if anything also slightly before, the earliest of the Wheel-marked coins" (or the so-called Bent-bar and allied pieces),[4] which Bivar supposes to have been "the issues either of some different authority or a later issue of the Achemenians (since the Wheel-marked coins are generally regarded as being of the Persian standard)". We would here examine first the nature of the 'Counter-marked' pieces, and then the question of their bearing, if any, on the Wheel-marked and the Punch-marked coinages respectively, and see finally if we can discern any 'prototypes' of the Punch-marked coins from amongst India's earliest indigenous issues.

The famous Chaman Huzuri (Kabul) hoard of 1933[5] contained (besides 20 miscellaneous Greek coins of the sixth century B.C., 38 Athenian *drachms*, 9 Persian *sigloi*, and 12 'full' and 11 'quarter' Wheel-marked coins) a group of 29 hitherto unrecorded coins, of which 'the majority

1. Almost all authorities believe that the Mauryas issued a 'universal' Punch-marked currency for use throughout the country. Thus, coins of a set type with the same group of symbols are found in places widely separated from one another.
2. *BMCAI*, p. xix.
3. *NC*, 1954, pp. 163 ff. (Plate XIII) : "The Chaman Huzuri Hoard : Counter-marked Greek flans as the Prototypes of the Indian Punch-marked Coinage".
4. The so-called Bent-bar coins (which Bivar terms 'Wheel-marked' coins) represent a well-organised currency, having pieces of various lower denominations: see J. Allan, *BMCAI*, p. xv-xvii, 1-3, Pl. I. 1-5 (where coins of three denominations are listed) ; and also Durga Prasad, *NS*, XLVII, pp. 86 N. f., Pl. 11. 1-5 (where coins of five denominations, viz. full, half, quarter, one-eighth and one-sixteenth, are referred to and illustrated). The coins other than the 'full-sized' specimen cannot be called 'bent'.
5. See fn. 3.

bear one or more incuse stamps strongly remnicent of counter-marks'. It is clear from the general appearance of these 'Counter-marked' coins that they were struck on ancient Greek flans. The six main groups, into which the coins fall, coincide with six common Greek denominations, of which five evidently circulated extensively within the Persian empire. But the types of the counter-marks seem entirely strange and non-Greek. They include, beside some animal and other motifs, a symbol 'identical with that of the Wheel-marked coins of the N.W. India and Afghanistan'. It is also interesting that the 'counter-marks bear some determinate relationship, not specifically to the weight of the several flans, but to their weight standard', since there is in every case a striking correspondence in weight between pieces which bear the same countermarks.

Since the Haughton specimen[1] of the Counter-marked coinage came from the N.W. Frontier of India and since there is a striking resemblance of the trident-symbol of the Wheel-marked currency, Bivar thinks that the Counter-marked coins are to be attributed to the same area as the Wheel-marked coins. According to Bivar, the five-type (i.e. the five-symbol), 'singular and no doubt elaborately organised', Punch-marked coinage of the Mauryas evolved from the Counter-marked coins. He visualises the evolutionary process in the following manner.

In the last days of the Acheminian administration in Arachosia and India and probably also in other parts of the Achemenian empire the currency consisted largely of old Greek flans counter-marked. It is possible that plain pieces of silver might later have been counter-marked and put into circulation in the same way. Later, when, after the fleeting interlude of Alexander and the Selucids, the Mauryas set about devising their coinage in the second quarter of the third century B. C., they reverted to the old tradition of the Counter-marked silver. But since by then the supply of old Greek flans had completely stopped, the Mauryas were 'obliged to stamp their punch-marks upon blanks of plain bar silver.' The form and general appearance of the two classes of currency is closely analogous, even though we need not 'assume that the Maurya system of punches corresponded closely with that of the Achemenian countermarks.'[2]

We, on our part, do not think that the five-symbol Punch-marked coinage of a remarkably uniform weight evolved from the curious and

1. *Haughton Sale Catalogue*, Sotheby & Co., London, 1958, p. 93, Pl. XXVI. 586.
2. This is practically what Bivar says in his paper, as cited in supra, p. 15, fn. 3.

obscure 'Counter-marked' pieces, of heterogenous weights, known specimens of which number *only thirty.*[1]

It is difficult to believe that these rare 'Counter-marked' coins were issued by the Achemenians even in their last days. They had their own characteristic coinage[2] and an elaborately organised minting system. Why should they, even in their worst days, take recourse to such an un-Achemenian way of stamping foreign coins of different standards with strange motifs ? They could, had they had the slightest political authority, strike coins in their own mints, however, badly administered they were. They could, if they had no silver for minting purposes, melt the available foreign coins and convert them into flans of their own choice and suitable to their standard currency and then strike them with their own dynastic devices. Moreover, had the 'Counter-marked' pieces been issued by the Achemenians, we could expect them to be somewhat more plentiful and coming along with Achemenian issues from various parts of their empire as well as from sites which generally yield Achemenian coins. Since no Achemenian association is ascribable to these obscure 'Counter-marked' coins, we have to dissociate them from the Achemenians. It is possible that some commercial guilds or agencies which had acquired old Greek coins in course of trade defaced them, and systematically counter-marked them, using specific symbols for stamping flans of specific weight-standards and used thus Counter-marked pieces as a sort of 'tokens' of modern times. We do not know whether the resemblance between the trident-symbol of a Counter-marked piece and that of the Wheel-marked coinage is deliberate or purely coincidential. If it was deliberate, we have possibly to hold that the issuers of the Wheel-marked currency adapted their symbol from one of those seen on the "Counter-marked' pieces. Anyway, we are almost certain that the Achemenians had nothing to do with the obscure 'Counter-marked' coins. It is also clear that the issuers of the 'Counter-marked' coins, if they were 'coins' at all, were not the issuers of the Wheel-marked currency, which had various denominations of 'regular' weight and was, consequently, 'perfectly organised, since the Bhir mound hoard suggests the location of the mint issuing the Wheel-marked coins at Taxila itself,[3] and neither the

1. This total is made up of 29 specimens of the Chaman Huzuri Hoard and 1 piece published in the *Haughton Sale Catalogue* : see supra, p. 16, fn. 1.
2. The Achemenid coinage consists of dumpy silver and gold pieces bearing the figure of the king kneeling as an archer : cf. E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. I. 3, 5.
3. G. M. Young, " A New Hoard from Taxila (Bhir Mound) ", *Ancient India,* No. 1, p. 31.

issuers of the obscure 'Counter-marked' pieces nor the Acheminians could have had any control over a mint at Taxila.

Then, we may see if the Wheel-marked coinage followed the weight-system of the silver coins of the Achemenians, i.e. the Persian weight-standard of the *siglos*. Since the Wheel-marked coins come from an area which was dominated by the Achemenians or the Persians from the end of the sixth to the middle of the fifth century B.C. and, since the date of their issue may very well fall within the period of Persian influence in India or Afghanistan,' J.Allan thinks that they conformed to the Persian standard——'full-sized coins presenting 'double-*siglos*' or *staters* of about 172 grains and the one fourth and the one-eighth pieces representing 'half' and 'quarter' *sigloi* respectively.[1] But according to E.H.C.Walsh,[2] the standard of the Wheel-marked or the so-called Bent-bar coins was Indian (and not Persian) and, that in fact they are but *śatamānas* of ancient Indian texts weighing 100 *rattis* or about 180 grains. It has been argued, on the contrary, that the *Śatamānas* as known from literature had a theoretical weight of 320 *rattis,* and not 100 *rattis.*[3] But even then the 'full' and bent Wheel-marked coins, without being identical with the *śatamānas* of ancient texts, could well be of an Indian standard, for it is not difficult to imagine a standard Indian coin with its weight based on the traditional and universally accepted *ratti,* and a *śataratti* or 100 *ratti* coin in the shape of the thoroughly indigenous Wheel-marked piece is not at all unexpected.[4]

The Wheel-marked coins, which do not betray any Persian influence either in their mode of fabrication[5] or in their type,[6] had also nothing to do with the weight standard of the Persian *siglos*. Had they been based on the *siglos* standard, we would expect to come across Wheel-marked

1. See supra, p. 15, fn. 4.
2. *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila* (*Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 59), p. 3.
3. Sircar, D. C. *JNSI*, XV, pp. 136 ff. Cf. also A. S. Altekar's note for a somewhat contrary view, ibid., pp. 147 ff.
4. Smith, V. A., who examined only 3 Bent-bar pieces in 1906, from their weight came to the conclusion that they were 100-ratti coins. Cf. also A. S. Altekar's view, *JNSI*, XV, pp. 147 ff.
5. The flans of the Wheel-marked coins were processed in a way thoroughly different from that used in preparing the Persian siglos.
6. While the Wheel-marked coins had on one side two or one broad 'trident' symbol, the siglos bore on the obverse the figure of the Achemenian emperor as an archer kneeling to right.

coins of the weight of one *siglos,* i.e. 86 grains. Such coins are conspecuously unknown.[1] We cannot, again, hold that the 'full' and bent Wheel-marked coins were actually double-siglos pieces, for in that case their average weight would have been something less than 172 grains, since there must be some loss of weight due to circulation and consequent wear and tear. But it is significant that the average weight of the full-sized *bent* Wheel-marked coins is 175 grains, the maximum weight of a single specimen going upto 179.5 grains.[2] This clearly shows that the 'bent' Wheel-marked bar coins had a weight originally heavier than that of two *sigloi.*[3] And if that is so, it is but fairly certain that these coins were independent of the weight standard of the Persian *siglos,* and, consequently, conformed to an indigenous weight system, apparently based on the *ratti.* In fact, they were coins of 100 *rattis,* as we have seen. It is only coincidential that they were of an approximate weight of two Persian *sigloi* and had at least two lower denominations, viz. one-fourth and one-eighth, which approximate the weights of half and quarter *sigloi* respectively.

We thus see (i) that the obscure 'Counter-marked' coins were not issued by the Achemenians, (ii) that the issuers of 'Counter-marked' coins had nothing to do with the issue of the Wheel-marked pieces and, (iii) that the Wheel-marked coins were neither issued by the Achemenians nor were of the Persian standard. It now, therefore, remains for us to see if the 'Counter-marked' coins could have been the 'prototypes' of the elaborately organised Punch-marked coins? In the face of the foregoing discussion it is hardly possible that a few obscure metallic pieces of heterogenous weights and bearing strange countermarks were the prototypes of an overwhelmingly extensive and elaborately organised Punch-marked coinage, having a purely indigenous standard of weight.[4] Under the circumstances, it would rather be

1. 50-ratti or 90-grain (half-sized) Wheel-marked coins are practically unknown. Durga Prasad alone once referred to a unique piece in the Taxila Museum : see *NS*, XLVII, p. 86 N., Pl. 11.2.
2. *Haughton Sale Catalogue*, p. 93, Pl. XXVI. 589. Durga Prasad refers to one Taxila Museum coin weighing 179.4 grains : see *NS*, XLVII, p. 86 N., Pl. 11.1.
3. For the average weight (175.6 grains) of the Bent-bar pieces see G. M. Young, *Ancient India*, No. 1, p. 28. That the Bent-bar coins were not double-siglos pieces was also shown by Durga Prasad, *Science and Culture*, 1938, pp. 462-65 ; see also V. S. Agrawala, *JNSI*, XV, p. 30.
4. The weight of the Punch-marked coins was based on *raktikā* or *ratti*, having a theoretical weight of 1.8 grains.

logical for us to look for the 'prototypes' of the Punch-marked coinage from amongst the numismatic issues of India itself. And, we believe, our search for them will not be in vain.

That the five-symbol and 32-ratti Punch-marked coins (*kārshāpaṇas*) of ancient texts succeeded, and were possibly evolved from, the four-symbol 24-ratti 'Saucer-shaped coins'[1] is otherwise indicated by a series of apparently 'intermediary' Punch-marked coins of the famous Paila hoard,[2] which curiously combine certain features of both the 'thin' Saucer-shaped and 'thick' Punch-marked categories of ancient Indian numismatic issues. They are connected, on the one hand, with the extra-ordinarily broader and thinner Saucer-shaped coins in their weight-system and symbolical representation, and have, on the other hand, a striking similarity with the oridinarily smaller and thicker Punch-marked coins in the matter of the processing of their blanks. For, significantly enough, the Paila coins are of the weight of 24 *rattis* and bear *four* big symbols as seen on the Saucer-shaped coins[3] (as against *five*, generally *minute* symbols of the ordinary Punch-marked pieces) and have a weight of 24 *rattis* like the Saucer-shaped issues. Again one of the four symbols is common to both the 24-ratti Saucer-shaped coins and the 24-ratti Paila specimens.[4] But their blanks are not generally prepared like those of the Saucer-shaped coins by flattening thin globules of a specific weight; they are prepared by chopping off squarish pieces (and clipping at corners when necessary to make them conform to required weight) out of strips initially made of a big flattened sheet as in the case of ordinary squarish or rectangular Punch-marked coins,[5] and

1. *NS*, XLV, pp. N. 9 ff. and Plates I-III ; also ibid., p. N. 9, n. 1 and Plate XXXI. These thin coins bearing 4 big and bold symbols and often a number of minute counter-marked are so called because they generally take the shape of a ' saucer ' in the process of stamping.
2. *JNSI*, II, pp. 15-78.
3. Cf. *NS*, XLVII, p. 77. So far as the weights of the Saucer-like and the Paila coins are concerned, Durga Prasad first believed that they were both of 24 *rattis* (*NS*, XLV, pp. N. 9 ff.), but later on he modified this view and held that they were of 25 *rattis* (*NS*, XLVII, p. 78 N.). We, however, endorse his earlier view.
4. Cf. the first symbol of the Lucknow Museum ' Saucer ' coin (*NS*, XLV, Plates I-III) and of the Mathura Museum ' Saucer ' piece (ibid., Plate XXXI) with the first symbol of coins similar to the Paila specimens (ibid., Plate VI); cf. also Durga Prasad's remark about the similarity, *NS*, XLVII, p. N. 77.
5. It seems that the ' cutting and chopping ' process was taken recourse to with regard to the majority of the flans, i. e. the squarish pieces.

only in rare cases by flattening globules of specific weights as in the case of the Saucer-shaped coins.[1]

We may, thus, successfully trace the evolutionary trend of the Punch-marked currency. Of the two categories of Saucer-shaped coinage, viz. one of 48 *rattis*[2] and the other of 24 *rattis*,[3] evidently the latter were more popular and, consequently, attracted the attention of the ancient moneyers due apparently to their symbolical representation and convenient weight. The issuers of the Paila-hoard coins of 'archaic appearance' and bearing bold big symbols, who were apparently amongst the earliest (if not the earliest)[4] of the better organised moneyers to mint coins of a wide and mass circulation, took their clue of a mass medium of exchange from the Saucer-shaped pieces. They not only maintained their standard weight of 24 *rattis* , which was equal to three-fourths of a *kārshāpaṇa,* but also retained their four-symbol type-combination and *even used one of their four symbols*.[5] But since they realised that processing of individual 'round' flans was more cumbrous, troublesome and time-consuming,[6] they made use of a simpler method (which probably they

1. It appears that the unusable ' squarish ' flans were duly melted in order to prepare globules of required weight (by casting or by other process) ; and then the globules thus processed were flattened thin to get roundish blanks.
2. For the 48-ratti 4-symbol ' Saucer ' coins see Sri Nath Shah, *JNSI*, II, pp. 55-56 and E.H.C. Walsh, ibid., V, pp. 13-16.
3. For the 24-ratti 4-symbol ' Saucer ' coins see Durga Prasad, *NS*, XLV, Plates I-III, and XXXI. It is likely that the 48-ratti ' Saucer ' coins were $1\frac{1}{2}$ (*adhyārdha*) and the 24-ratti 4-symbol ones were $\frac{3}{4}$ (*tri-pāda*) *kārshāpaṇas.*
4. Since the Paila coins represent rather an extensive and organised currency and since there is so far no other type of coins weighing 24 *rattis* like them, it is quite likely that their issuers were the first to evolve 24-ratti 4-symbol coins on the analogy of the ' Saucer ' pieces.
5. See supra, p. 20, fn. 4. above.
6. ' Round ' flans of the Punch-marked coins were evidently (*individually* processed by flattening thin globules of required weight and not by hack-sawing or cutting slices from cylindrical rods, as believed by older numismatists) : see *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 172-173. That process would naturally be slow and troublesome. This globule-flattening process was replaced by the sheet-cutting process. So far as the Punch-marked coins are concerned, the shape is evidently of no significance, as aptly remarked by J. Allan, *BMCAI*, p. xx. Apparently quite contrary to Smith's view (*IMC*, I, p. 134), round coins came earlier than the squarish and rectangular pieces. By this, of course, we do not mean to say that round pieces were not manufactured at a later time. For, as almost all hoards show, comparatively few round specimens were always there along with abundant squarish pieces,

themselves invented), by which by far the greater number of blanks could be processed *easily* and *in a comparatively short time*. Instead of preparing 'roundish' blanks *individually,* as in the case of the Saucer-shaped coins, the issuers of the Paila coins mass-produced 'squarish' blanks out of a big sheet of metal—first by cutting long strips and then by chopping them off to a required weight. It is needless to say that these mass-produced pieces,due to their comparative thickness, would not become concave in the process of stamping with individual punches. This is how possibly the first series of Punch-marked coins was evolved out of the Saucer-shaped coins. And from this intermediary stage ultimately immerged the five-symbol 32-ratti Punch-marked coinage of the earlier local and the later and the most elaborately organised 'universal' series.

Thus finally we see that the overwhelmingly numerous five-symbol 32-*ratti* Punch-marked coins or the *Kahāpana-Kārshāpaṇas* of early Indian texts did not evolve from the curious and obscure 'Counter-marked' pieces of non-Indian origin and heterogenous weights and bearing strange symbols or marks, but from an well-organised indigenous Saucer-shaped coinage of a recognised weight and bearing popular symbols—through the mass-produced four-symbol 24-ratti Paila coins.

This is possibly due to the fact that after using the mass-produced squarish flans the issuers of Punch-marked coins melted the unusable smaller ones and prepared globules of required weight out of them and flattened them individually to make some round pieces.

SOME RECENT INDO-GREEK ACCESSIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

G. K. JENKINS

(**PL. I**)

It would be difficult to think of Indo-Greek numismatics without thinking of Whitehead, who made the whole subject so much his own. Although his mastery extended widely into many other fields as well, it is probably right to think of the Indo-Greeks as his special love : it was in fact the coins and history of these successors of Alexander, as he himself remarked, which made him a coin-collector. Anyone who has worked even a little in this field and who also knew Whitehead will have experienced the stimulus of his kindness and enthusiasm and will always remember him with the deepest affection and gratitude.

Whitehead's own collection had been acquired by the British Museum in 1921, and in the Indo-Greek field alone it was the most important accession since Cunningham. Contained in it were a number of choice rarities such as—to mention only two—the bilingual Demetrius (II) tetradrachm, and the tetradrachm of Peucolaus, both of which were first published by Whitehead himself[1]. He was always a regular visitor to the British Museum coin room and such was his continuing enthusiasm for the subject that it was always a special pleasure to be able to show him further interesting acquisitions as they arrived. It is some of these which I wish to describe here and to add a few comments on the problems involved.

Perhaps the most notable among the newer acquisitions is the Attic tetradrachm of Menander, (**PL. I. 1**) already published by Bivar[1] and by Narain.[2] The reverse carries the type of Athena Alkidemos, familiar in Menander's abundant bilingual coinage but here accompanied by a Greek legend instead of the Kharoshṭhī; the monogram is also one that is well-known on the bilingual coins. The Athena whose ancestry

1. *N C*, 1923, P. 294 ff.
2. *The Indo-Greeks*, 1957.

has been well traced by Mrs. Baldwin Brett[1] probably represents a famous cult-statue which stood at Pella, the capital of Alexander the Great's home kingdom of Macedonia and as such she appears, in conjunction with Alexander's portrait, on posthumous tetradrachms issued at the mint of Alexandria in Egypt, as well as on subsequent coins of the Macedonian kindgom, and elsewhere. But the real artistic importance of the Menander's Attic tetradrachm lies in the portrait, which is arguably the finest extant of this king; a splendidly three-dimensional aspect is given by the rendering in very high relief that can only be fully appreciated when actually handling the coin and which comes as a surprise when one has hitherto known it only from illustrations. This unique specimen, originally unearthed in Iran, was acquired by the British Museum at the Basel auction of October 1966.

On the same occasion was acquired the Attic tetradrachm of Lysias, (**PL. I. 2**) in this piece we have a close analogy with some of the rare coins from the Qunduz hoard, of which a full publication and illustration has recently been given by Curiel and Fussmann.[2] The types of this coin, showing the portrait of the king wearing an elephant-scalp headdress, and the standing Herak les on the reverse, are the same as for Lysias' bilingual coins and at the same time hark back to the types of Demetrius (I), of whom Lysias was perhaps a descendent. But the portrait in the elephant-scalp in fact goes back further than Demetrius, who in this feature was copying Alexander; and the first true portrait of Alexander himself shown in the elephant-scalp appeared shortly after his death on the coins of Alexandria already mentioned above with the Athena Alkidemos on the reverse. The use of the same type of portrait by both, Demetrius and Lysias, seems to show a direct consciousness of the heritage of Alexander.

Our third coin is an Attic tetradrachm of Theophilus (**PL. I. 3**) acquired by the British Museum in 1965; again there is a directly analogous piece in the Qunduz hoard. Here we have a diademed portrait rendered with great vigour and psychological penetration; on the reverse is an enthroned Athena holding a small victory on her right hand. Both in the type and in the use of the title Autokrator, we find a considerable divergence from the bilingual coins of Theophilus, among which a tetradrachm was published recently by Bivar.[3] Personally

1. *Museum Notes* IV, 1950.
2. *Le Tsesor monetaire de Qundus*, 1965,
3. *NC*, 1965, pl. VI. 7

I also see a considerable difference in the portrait which would lead me to suppose that the two are different men. Of course it is often difficult to be sure of such a matter, important as it is for the final assessment of the coins as historical evidence; yet I feel that it is underestimating the quality of the portraits which we have on the coins of this class if we decline to rely on portraiture as a principal criterion. I recall that Whitehead[1] reviewing the clear discrepancy between the portraits of Heliocles (I) and Heliocles (II) was led to the conclusion that there must have been two separate kings of the same name, and personally I would agree with his opinion.

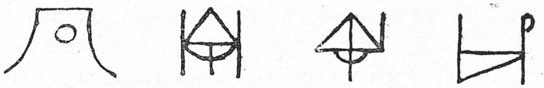
A fourth important Attic tetradrachm acquired by the British Museum is that of Archebius (**PL. I**, 4) purchased form the Basel auction in 1959. The portrait showing the king helmeted includes the shoulders seen from the back and wearing the aegis and wielding a spear with the right hand; the diadem-ends are seen against the back and the helmet is adorned with the horn and ear of a bull exactly as on the well-known and abundant coins of Eucratides (I) . It was Eucratides also who first employed the remarkable 'shoulder-portrait' here used for Archebius. It is a form of portrait unique among the Hellenistic coins and which occurs nowhere outside the Greek kingdom of Bactria; yet it clearly belongs to the traditions of the Hellenistic world as can be seen from the fact that a similar type is sometimes to be seen on coins of the Roman republic, and more significantly in a remarkable Hellenistic gem portraying a Macedonian king, porbably Philip V.[2] It is a mode of iconography also known in later Roman coins and gems of the imperial time. However that may be, the Archebius tetradrachm affords an outstanding example. The reverse reproduces the Zeus type of the same king's bilingual coins. The monogram likewise is one that is found on the bilingual coins, and it is moreover one which in a recent article Bivar has located at the mint of Alexandria-sub-Caucaso, the capital of the Indo-Greek kings on the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush. Here again there are some closely similar specimens in the Qunduz hoard.

These then are some of the outstanding pieces which the British Museum has been able to acquire in recent years; befor this, and before the discovery of the Qunduz hoard, the only coin representing this new class of Attic tetradrachm had been the coin of Antialcidas which has been in the museum's collection for a hundred years[3], and which in

1. *NC*, 1950, pp. 211-2
2. Furtwangler, Die Antike Gemmeny III, 159, No. 113
3. *BMC*, p. 25, No. 1

isolation had always seemed unaccountable. Needless to say, the discovery of this whole new class of material, the Menander coin and the others revealed for the first time at Qunduz (which included also Attic tetradrachms of Philoxenus and of Hermaeus, and the astonishing double-decadrachms of Amyntas, as well as those pieces already mentioned), certainly adds considerably to the problems of historical interpretation which still surround many aspects of the Indo-Greeks and their history. The recent full publication of the Qunduz material by Curiel and Fussmann has, in the first place, corrected earlier ideas as to the find-spot of this important hoard; it was discovered not at Qunduz itself but at a site on the Oxus river called Khisth Tépé, some 100 km. to the eastwards of Balkh (Bactra). Various tentative conclusions have been reached on the basic questions as to the date of the burial and the place of mintage of the later Attic tetradrachms; the French scholars seem to favour the idea that such coins must have been minted in Bactria, but Bivar inclines rather to think of mintage at Alexandria sub-Caucaso on the southern side of the Hindu Kush, and both incline to think of the date of burial as being about 100-90 B.C. I confess that this date for the burial still seems to me to involve a considerable compression of the chronology of the later Indo-Greeks, when we recall that Hermaeus the last of the Indo-Greek kings has usually been put about 70-50 B.C., and I remain somewhat sceptical as to the possibility of such compression. Then again, if the later Attic tetradrachms are to be regarded as strictly a currency for Bactria, it is logical to suppose that their mintage, at whichever mint, should imply some degree of control by the Indo-Greek kings of the region to the north of the Hindu Kush. But is it not conceivable that these coins especially the double-decadrachms of Amyntas were really something in the nature of medallic or presentation pieces rather than as currency ? —in that case it seems less necessary to envisage that the issuing kings really had any control over the Bactrian region, and that the coins could well have been minted to the south of the Hindu Kush as the monograms would seem in most cases to imply. For the monograms used are always (save only in the case of Theophilus) identical with monograms used on the same kings' bilingual coinage. In that case, also, it would seem less cogent to set the date-limit of the Qunduz hoard—and consequently of the Indo-Greek dynasty as such—according to the probable date (about 100 B.C.) at which Bactria was finally overwhelmed by the nomad invaders from the north.

However, it is impossible to pretend that there is any easy or final solution to all these problems. I should like to add here only one further remark, this time regarding the coinage of Eucratides-for there too there is apparently a similar problem over the place of mintage. We should expect to be able to think of the Attic coinage of Eucratides as minted in Bactria and the bilingual, which in fact consists largely of square bronzes, as minted south of the Hindu Kush, since the Kharoshṭhī script has no relevance in Bactria. Yet we find that there is a group of identical monograms which appear both on Eucratides square bilingual bronzes and on his Attic tetradrachms of the Helmeted head type. These monograms are :



The coincidence of no less than four monograms on the two classes of coins seems to me seriously to raise the problem, whether some at least of Eucratides' Attic silver coinage was minted south of the Hindu Kush as the square bronzes seem to indicate—e.g. at Alexandria-sub-Caucaso ? It is a disturbing possibility and one that moreover Whitehead was himself well aware of.[1] Earlier he gives[2] rightly short shrift to the idea that the famous gold twenty-stater piece, now in Paris, could poossibly have been minted in the Punjab, on account of the monogram (the second of those cited here) but if the answer should be Alexandria-sub-Caucaso, can this be thought necessarily implausible ? The question cannot be further pursued here; probably only an exhaustive and complete corpus of the whole Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinage will put us in a position to reach the final and definitive solution. But the question which I have raised with regrad to Eucratides seems not irrelevant to the similar question which arises over the Qunduz coins, and perhaps the one case may eventually be found to throw some light on the other.

For the moment, I should conclude by saying that I well recall how pleased and delighted Whitehead was to see the coins which I have described here; how much it is to be regretted that the full publication of the Qunduz volume did not appear in time for Whitehead to review it and that consequently the wise and penetrating observations which he would surely have devoted to this important topic were never recorded for posterity.

1. See his remarks in NC, 1950, p. 213 and in 1923 p. 301.
2. Ibid, 1923

SOTER MEGAS, THE KING OF KINGS, THE KUSHĀṆA

DAVID W. MACDOWALL

The interesting problem of the context and significance of Soter Megas, like many of the problems of early Indian history and numismatics has attracted the attention of R. B. Whitehead on more than one occasion.[1] I am therefore particuarly happy to be able to contribute an article on Soter Megas[2]—a subject which I had discussed several times with Whitehead—as my tribute to the great master who was founder member and first honorary fellow of our Society. *Scripta manent* and his own writings are the most eloquent testimony of Whitehead's greatness. But I must record my own appreciation of his remarkable personal qualities, of the rather frail white haired scholar who was so helpful and encouraging to the young student, the hospitality he used to extend in Millington Road Cambridge after an afternoon in the coin room of the Fitzwilliam Museum, and the infectious enthusiasm for the study of Indian numismatics which he kindled and fostered.

Coins of Soter Megas are extremely common and are found in large numbers throughout N.W. India, as far as Benares and Ghazipur and north of the Hindu Kush in southern Russia. But their legends give no personal name for the king and merely consist of a string of royal titles BACIΛEVC BACIΛEVWN CWTHP MEΓAC—the king of kings, the saviour, the great. Numismatic works have therefore usually

1. R. B. Whitehead discussed the problem of Soter Megas in ' Two coins of Soter Megas ' *JRAS*, 1913 and in a long footnote in *PMC*, I, 160—161.
2. This article is based on a paper read to the Royal Numismatic Society at its meeting on the 16th March 1960 (see the *Proceedings of the Royal Numismatic Society*, 1959/60, 6.) At that time I had not been able to study the important article on Soter Megas by the Soviet scholar Prof. M. E. Masson. It is thanks to the kindness of Dr. E. V. Zeymal of the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad that I have been able to study a copy of Masson's article. He postulates a context for Soter Megas very similar to the one that I had suggested independently in my paper to the *RNS*, but draws a rather different conclusion. I have therefore rewritten my own contribution to include and discuss the important points made by Masson,

termed them coins of a nameless king and attributed them to the general context of the first century A.D.

The Nameless King 'Soter Megas' has four principal coinages. Three of these seem to have been local in issue and to have been designed to circulate in distinct territories.

ISSUE OF WESTERN GANDHĀRA

Billon Tetradrachms (Indian Standard)

Obv. : King on horseback to r., holding aṅkuśa in raised r. hand.

To r.

ΒΑCΙΛΕVC ΒΑCΙΛΕVWN CWTHP ΜΕΓΑC

Rev. : Zeus stg. r. with r. hand outstretched, and l. hand holding sceptre.

To l. Kharoshṭhī letter *vi*, to r. flower pot and plant. Kharoshṭhī legend. *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa.*

BMC	114 no. 1	Pl xxiv	1
IMC	61 no. 32	Pl ix	17
PMC	160 no. 96	Pl xvi	96

BM 9.30, 9.82, 9.59, 9.47, 8.88, 9.36 and 9.84 gm.

Billon Drachms (Indian Standard)

Obv. and **Rev.** as **1**.

BM 1.85, 2.01, 1.72, 2.06 gm.

This combination of obverse and reverse types is copied directly from the Pahlava sequence of billon that is struck in the names of Aspavarma,[1] Sasan[2] and Abdagases.[3] Jenkins[4] has shown that the Zeus Nikephorus type is the product of the mint of Taxila. While not so numerous, this Zeus r. type is very well represented at Taxila[5] and must be the product of a neighbouring province—presumably Western Gandhāra.

1. *PMC*, I, 150 nos. 35 ff.
2. *PMC*, I, 147 nos. 1 ff.
3. *PMC*, I, 153 nos. 61 ff.
4. G. K. Jenkins 'Indo Scythic Mints' *JNSI*, XVII part II, 8 ff.
5. Sir John Marshall, *Taxila*, vol III.

ISSUE OF MATHURĀ AND THE S.E. PUNJAB

Copper Crachms (Attic Standard)

Obv. : Diademed bust of king r. imitating the copies of Heliocles.

To r.

Rev. : Zeus standing, l. hand holding a long sceptre, r. hand holding a thunderbolt.

BACIΛEVC BACIΛEVWN CWTHP MEΓAC

IMC 61	no. 29	Pl. ix	16
PMC 162	no. 109	Pl. xvi	111

BM 3.85, 3.93, 4.36, 4.34, 4.16, 3.71, 4.28, 4.20, 3.37, 3.53 and 3.71 gm.

Cunningham[1] noted that coins of this type are commonly found at Mathurā and constituted a local coinage not met with elsewhere. Whitehead[2] records that he found the type in Delhi and Jagadhri, and thought it was probably current in what is now the south-east Punjab. These indications are sufficient to show the general area of its circulation. Both the obverse and reverse types are curious in a number of ways which are very puzzling until one realizes that the issue copies the coins of the Yüe-chï with an obverse portrait of Heliocles and the reverse type of Zeus holding a thunderbolt[3] which had themselves been copied from the silver tetradrachms and drachms of the Bactrian king Heliocles.[4] The fold of the drapery in front of the king's neck becomes detached on the Yüe-chï copies, and progressively deteriorates until it becomes the strange hook in front of the neck of Soter Megas. The monogram below the thunderbolt on the coins of Heliocles, becomes attached to the thunderbolt in the Yüe-chï copies, and sometimes looks not unlike a trident on Soter Megas.

ISSUE OF KAPISENE OR BACTRIA

Copper Denomination—Hemiobol (Attic Standard)

Obv. : Helmeted bust of king l. holding spear in outstretched hand with fillet border

1. *NC*, 1890, 157.
2. *PMC*, I, 162 Footnote.
3. *PMC*, I, 28 nos. 140 ff.
4. *PMC*, I, 28 no. 135.

To r. to l. *vi*

Rev. : King on horseback r., with aṅkuśa in outstretched r. hand

BACIΛEVC BACIΛEV WN CWTHP ME ΓAC.

To r.

BMC 116 no. 26 Pl xxiv 6

PMC 160 no. 95 Pl. xvi 94

BM 12.57, 12.61, 12.51, 11.87 and 11.09 gm.

Small Copper Denomination—Hemi-chalkon (Attic Standard)

Obv. : Within dotted border stg. figure with drapery over l. arm and holding a long sceptre in r. hand.

To r. Kharoshṭhī letter *vi*, to l.

Rev. : Within dotted border draped figure stg. r. holding cornucopiae.

To r. flower pot with plant, to l.

PMC 163 no. 113 Pl xvi 113

BM 1.55, 1.19, 1.61, 1.06, 1.49, 1.83, 1.31, 1.65, 1.40, 1.31, 1.86, 1.51, 1.56, 1.66 and 1.50 gm.

Coins of the helmeted type of Soter Megas are rare and few find spots are recorded. There was only one example of this type and one of the Zeus r. type of Soter Megas compared with 55 copper didrachms of Soter Megas general coinage found at Begram in 1833.[1] Absent from Taxila, rare at Begram coins with a fillet border and legends in Greek alone with the helmeted head of the type of Eucratides suggest an origin in Kapiśa or Bactra. In that area the silver denomination seems to have continued in silver with the tetradrachms and obols copied from Eucratides[2] and the same denomination for Heraus[3]. If these

1. Masson, C. 'Memoir on the Ancient Coins found at Beghram in the Kohistan of Kabul', *JASB*, III, 152 ff.
2. There are several copies of the type, *PMC*, 21, nos. 71 ff.
3. *PMC*, I, 163 nos. 115 ff.; *NC*, 1940, 120 ff. and Zograph, A.N., *The Coins of Heraus*, (Tashkent 1937).

helmeted copper coins of Soter Megas belong to this locality they would then be copper Attic hemiobols.

The small anepigraphic copper coins are linked to Soter Megas by their use of Soter Megas symbol. , the Kharoshṭhī letter *vi* and the flower in the plant pot, with the symbol These coins seem to be a fraction—$\frac{1}{8}$ th of the weight of the helmeted head copper coins. If that is so, their denomination would then be a copper Attic hemi—chalkon.

GENERAL COINAGE

Copper Didrachms and Hemidrachms (Attic Standard)

Obv. : Within dotted border bust of king r. radiate and holding a long filleted sceptre.

To 1.

Rev. : King on horseback r. holding aṅkuśa

To r.

BACIΛEVC BACIΛEVWN CWTHP MEΓAC in various forms.

Didrachms	*BMC*	114 no. 2	Pl xxiv	2
	PMC	161 no. 100	Pl xvi	100
	IMC	59 no. 1		
Hemidrachms	*BMC*	115 no. 19	Pl xxiv	4
	PMC	162 no. 106		
	IMC	60 no. 21	Pl ix	15

Examples of this general coinage are extremely common and are distributed extensively in N.W. India, Kabul and South Russia. All the 92 coins of the Soter Megas in the Tashkent Museum listed by Masson[1] are of this type (84 copper didrachms and 8 copper hemidrachms). There are wide variations in legends, details of type, forms of symbol and in treatment. Masson has drawn attention to a large number of these features in his article.[2] The final classification must await much

1. Masson, M. E. ' The origin of the nameless king of kings, the great the saviour ' *Proceedings of the Central Asian State University*, Tashkent 1950, 48 f.
2. Ibid, 11 ff.

more detailed study and more precise information about the distribution of varieties. On the basis of letter forms, we can however distinguish three basic categories in the general coinage :—

(*a*) lunate forms Є Ϲ ω types 6 & 7

(*b*) square forms (pronounced dots) E ⊏ Ш types 8 & 9

(*c*) square forms (no pronounced dots) E ⊏ Ш types 10 & 11

1. Copper didrachms

Obv. : Greek legend with lunate forms Є Ϲ ω

BM 8.33, 8.16, 8.06, 8.31, 7.71, 8.33, 8.42, 8.11, 8.68, 8.37, 8.06, 8.39, 8.31, 8.34, 8.25, 7.75, 8.27, 8.10, 8.36, 8.41, 9.08, 8.26, 8.45, and 8.49 gm.

2. Copper hemidrachms

Obv. : lunate letter forms as 6.
BM 2.19 and 2.02 gm.

3. Copper didrachms

Obv. : Greek legend with square letter forms and pronounced dots E ⊏ Ш

BM 7.96, 8.06, 8.03, 8.37, 8.13 and 7.95 gm.

4. Copper hemidrachms

Obv. : Square letter forms with pronounced dots as 8.
BM 1.77, 1.92 and 1.91 gm.

5. Copper didrachms

Obv. : square letter forms without pronounced dots

E ⊏ Ш

BM 8.37, 7.77, 8.21, 8.33, 8.32, 9.06, 8.09, 7.70, 7.89, and 7.82 gm.

6. Copper hemidrachms

Obv. : square letter forms without pronounced dots as 10.
BM 1.97 and 1.87 gm.

Cunningham[1] gave a clear indication of the general context of Soter Megas by noting a number of pecularities common to the coins of Soter Megas and to those of Vima Kadphises; but although he still apparently regarded them as "two princes" he gave Soter Megas no place in his tentative chronological system of the Kushāṇa dynasty. Vincent Smith[2] further developed Cunningham's suggestion and argued that when the Yüe-chï dominion was extended all over north-western India "the conquered Indian provinces were administered by military viceroys, to whom apparently should be attributed the large issues of coins known to numismatists as those of the Nameless King." This sort of view has now become widely accepted, and the figure of Soter Megas has been omitted from most recent discussions of the chronology of events. But Vincent Smith's solution does not satisfactorily explain a number of features about the coinage of Soter Megas—the range of its distribution and its place in the Śaka, Pahlava and Kushāṇa sequences. Further analysis of the coinage enables us to be much more precise about the numismatic context of Soter Megas, and this suggests a very different answer to the puzzling question of the status and identity of the nameless king.

Vincent Smith advanced three arguments to support his view that Soter Megas was a viceroy of Vima Kadphises :—

Vincent Smith believed that the peculiarities common to the coins of Vima Kadphises, noted by Cunningham gave the proof that Soter Megas was contemporary with Vima Kadphises. Cunningham had correctly observed :

"(*a*) Both use the same titles BACIΛEVC BACIΛEWN CWTHP ΜΕΓΑC in the nominative case.

(*b*) Both make use of a circular margin composed of reels and pellets in place of the native legend.

(*c*) Vima Kadphises holds a club upright before his face.

(*c*) The nameless King holds a sceptre upright before his face.

(*d*) Both use the same peculiar form of the Gandharian letter *j*, thus : ".

1. *NC*, 1890, 114 ff. and *NC*, 1892, 71.
2. *IMC*, I and *The Early History of India*, 268 and footnote.

To these we must add the evidence of the curious and still unique coin published by Cunningham[1] which combines the two symbols of Vima Kadphises and Soter Megas, and the close association of coins of Vima Kadphises and Soter Magas in excavations at Taxila and Begram. Finds from Sirkap mound at Taxila[2] include large number of Kujula Kadphises (1979 of the Hermaeus bust type and 334 of the Roman head type) and of Gondophares (744) but hardly any of Vima Kadphises (13) or of Soter Megas (12). The first city at Begram[3] contained coins of the Indo-Scythians, Gondophares, Kujula Kadphises, Vima Kadphises and Soter Megas, but not of the later Kushāṇas. These common features and this common behaviour certainly suggest that Soter Megas should be closely associated with Vima Kadphises, but do not prove that he was strictly contemporary. They would in fact be equally explicable if Soter Megas were either the predecessor or successor of Vima Kadphises.

Vincent Smith considered that the use of the present participle βασιλεύων on the coins of Soter Megas seemed to be an indication of his subordinate rank. But even if we were certain that βασιλεύων in βασιλευς βασιλευων σωτηρ μεγας was in fact intended to be the present participle and should therefore be translated as " the king ruling, the great saviour", that would not in itself indicate a subordinate status. It is however perfectly clear that βασιλευων was meant to be the genitive plural of βασιλευς —a mistake due no doubt to the grammatical ignorance of some official which was faithfully copied in the engraving of subsequent dies—for on the bilingual coinage of Soter Megas the Kharoshṭhī legend has *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa*. There is a similar mistake in the obverse legend on coins of Kanishka with

1. *NC*, 1892, 71, Pl. xv. 14.
2. Marshall, *Taxila*, loc. cit.
3. Ghirshman, *Begram*.

the legend Βκοιλευς Βασιλεων Κανηρκου [1] where Βκοιλευς is apparently misunderstood and thought to be a genitive form so that Kanishka which should agree with it is also put in the genitive ; and on the Arachosian coins that copy the titulature of Hermaeus[2] ΣΤΗΡΟΣ seems to have been used mistakenly instead of ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ . Obviously if Βκοιευων was intended to be a genitive plural on the coins of Soter Megas, his titulature was just as fully imperial as that of the copper coins of Vima Kadphises himself.

Vincent Smith considered, moreover, that a subordinate status was suggested by the fact that except for a few pieces in base silver, coins of Soter Megas were struck in copper alone, whereas the coins of Vima were struck in gold, silver and copper. But this argument does not prove his point either. Vima did not issue any silver coinage. The only genuine silver coin of his known is a unique proof or pattern in the British Museum.[3] The billon and copper denominations of the Pahlavas and of Soter Megas, Vima Kadphises and the later Kushāṇas were all in fact the lineal successors of the old silver denominations of N. W. India that had suffered a disasterous debasement during the reigns of Hermaeus in the Kabul Valley and Azes II in the Taxila region.[4] Vima was the first king in N. W. India in the Kushāṇa period to issue a regular gold coinage,[5] though, of course, his innovation was followed by all the subsequent Kushāṇa kings. The absence of a gold coinage for Soter Megas, therefore, will only suggest a subordinate status if it can be demonstrated that the coins of Soter Megas were contemporary with, or later than, the gold coinage of Vima.

It is, however, impossible to regard the coinages of Soter Megas as contemporary with the gold coinage of Vima and providing its change

1. *PMC*, I, 186, nos. 53 ff.
2. *PMC*, I, 84, nos. 676 ff.
3. *NC*, 1892, 69, Pl. cv. 9.
4. *PMC*, I, 83, nos. 663 ff.
5. *PMC*, I, 173.

in the copper denominations because there is also an extensive copper coinage struck in the name of Vima Kadphises himself which is just as common and just as widely distributed in more or less the same territories as the coins of Soter Megas. And although the coinages of both have several common features the differences between them are equally significant and important :—

(*a*) The types of the copper coinage of Vima were remarkably uniform throughout all his territories ; Soter indeed issued a general coinage of fairly uniform types, but he also issued several distinctive types with a local circulation in different areas.

(*b*) Vima struck all his copper coins to the weight standard of the Attic tetradrachms and its subdivisions ; Soter struck most of his coins on this same Attic weight standard, but one of his issues consisted of base billon tetradrachms struck on the Indian weight standard.

(*c*) Except for the rare coins with the reel and pellet border, all the copper coins of Vima are bilingual with a Greek legend on the obverse and a Kharoshṭhī one on the reverse; whereas all the coins of Soter Megas struck on the Attic standard are monolingual with legends in Greek alone.

But the really conclusive argument against Vincent Smith's idea that Soter Megas is a viceroy of Vima Kadphises appointed to govern the Indian provinces, is the extensive distribution of the general coinage of Soter Megas not only in N. W. India but north of the Hindu Kush in Southern Russia as far as Balkh, Termez and Samarkand[1]. It is clear from the find spots that these common coins of Soter Megas circulated through all the early Kushāṇa empire and are not restricted to the Indian territories.

While this important evidence of the distribution of the coins of Soter Megas is fatal to the" viceroy " theory of Vincent Smith, it is equally conclusive in establishing a firm link between the coinages of Soter Megas and the Kushāṇas. And the important and detailed analysis by the Soviet scholar M. E. Masson[2] has shown how close the links are not only between Soter Megas and Vima Kadphises (Kadphises II), but also between Soter Megas and the earlier Kushāṇa king Kujala Kad-

1. Masson, M. E., loc. cit., 30-33.
2. Ibid, 40 ff.

phises (Kadphises I). The palaeography on coins of Soter Megas shows the same wide range of letter forms that we find on the various coinages of Kujula Kadphises and Masson argues from the use of comparable forms on the Parthian coinage that both Soter Megas and Kujula Kadphises belong to the same epoch—the first half of the first century A. D. Masson traces with care the links in titulature between various Parthian and Indo-Greek kings, Kujula Kadphises, Rājuvula, Vima Kadphises and Soter Megas. He appositely notes that Vima Kadphises and later Kushāṇa kings had their own distinctive form of *tamga*—a symbol personal to each king but which is shown on the coins in a variety of forms while retaining its characteristic features—that the Soter Megas symbol is just this sort of *tamga* and that there is no form of *tamga* known for Kujula Kadphises. Masson's conclusion from his impressive collection of evidence is that the nameless king (Soter Megas) is in fact identical with Kujula Kadphises, and in this great personage—the predecessor of Vima Kadphises—we have the effective conqueror of India.

Masson's arguments clearly provide very strong support for the view that the Soter Megas coinages were Kushāṇa and the links he has established with Kujula Kadphises are highly significant and indeed complementary to the links that Vincent Smith established between Soter Megas and Vima Kadphises. But, as with Vincent Smith's view, while the common features and complimentary behaviour certainly suggest that Soter Megas should be closely associated with Kujula Kadphises, they would equally be explicable if the " nameless king " Soter Megas was not Kujula Kadphises but his successor.

The key to the solution of this puzzling question seems to lie in significant and important differences between the coinages of Kujula Kadphises and those of the nameless king Soter Megas—in particular the successive changes in the developing pattern of denominations and metrology of coins struck in different eparchies and in their obverse and reverse types. Towards the end of Indo-Greek and Śaka rule in N.W. India the earlier homogeneity of the coinage had largely disappeared. With the coming of the Yüe-chī the silver denominations of N. W. India, struck on the Indian weight standard[1] with a tetradrachm of c. 9.5 gm.,

1. *BMC*, *Greek and Scythic Kings*, 1 cxix, and Whitehead in *NC*, 1923, 296 ff. who has shown that this denomination should be regarded as a tetradrachm of the Indian standard.

had suffered a serious debasement. In the Kabul Valley the tetradrachms of Hermaeus in good silver were succeeded by coins with the same obverse and reverse types of the same weight and general appearance but struck in copper.[1] In Gandhāra the Śaka tetradrachms of good silver were succeeded by coins with the same types and weight but struck in billon.[2] In the kingdom of the eastern Punjab the silver drachms of the Stratos were succeeded by dumpy debased drachms with the same types in billon of Rājuvula and Gondophares.[3]

Kujula Kadphises almost always follows the pattern of the denominations that he found in each of his provinces, and except for the Roman head type and its subdivision,[4] his coinages all seem to have been struck to the Indian weight standard or corrupt derivatives of it. The joint coinage with Hermaeus and the Kujula/Heracles[5] coins in copper follow the denomination of the copper tetradrachms of the later issues of Hermaeus. The bull and camel copper coins[6] are clearly intended to be the same denomination as the copper coins of Zeionises the Satrap[7] from whose types they are derived and of whose name they still retain traces in the corrupt and unintelligible Greek legend of the obverse. The Demeter type coins with the Kadphises symbol[8] are copying the billon tetradrachm issues of the Śakas and Pahlavas in Gandhāra.[9] The major issue that does not follow a denomination of the Indian weight standard is the Roman head copper issue which is inspired not only by the types but also the weight standard of the early imperial silver denarii of Rome. Soter Megas, on the other hand, normally strikes denominations that are related in one way or another to the Attic weight standard that the Indo-Greeks had used in Bactria. The sole exception is the Zeus standing right with a long sceptre type, which follows very closely the Indian weight standard of the Pahlava billon tetradrachms and drachms from

1. *PMC*, I, 83, nos. 663 ff.
2. *IMC*, I, 50 ff.
3. *PMC*, I, 166, nos. 130 ff. and 151, nos. 39 ff.
4. *PMC*, I, 181, nos. 24 ff.
5. *PMC*, I, 178, nos. 1 ff.
6. *PMC*, I, 180, nos. 16 ff.
7. *PMC*, I, 158, nos. 84 ff.
8. *PMC*, I, 122, no. 231 and Jenkins and Narain, *NSI NNM*, IV, 24 f.
9. In the Punjab, the collapse into billon seems to occur in the issues of Azes II. All the Indian tetradrachms of the house of Gondophares in the N. Punjab seem to be of billon.

which it copied the types and symbolism. But none of the other coinages of Soter Megas are struck in denominations of the Indian standard. The Mathurā type copper coins of the south east Punjab, which are closely derived from the barbarous copies in copper of the silver coins of Heliocles, are like them struck as copper drachms of the Attic standard. The helmeted head type seems to be intended as a successor to the hemiobol in copper of the Attic series, and the issue of the tiny anepigraphic coins that weigh something like $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the larger denomination seems to constitute a hemichalkon. The general coinage of Soter Megas which is struck in copper to a fairly close weight standard of 8.0 to 8.5 gm. seems to be a new denomination introduced by Soter Megas. It has a far dumpier flan than the copper Indian tetradrachms of Kabul and Arachosia. The coin is closer in size and appearance to the billon tetradrachms of the Indian standard in Gandhāra but it is[1] noticeably lighter in weight and is struck in copper not billon. It is however a consistent weight in the Attic system—double the weight of the Attic drachm and half the weight of the Attic tetradrachm ; so that it can properly be termed an Attic copper didrachm. But while the denomination is indeed new it is also the only type of Soter Megas that circulated extensively and commonly throughout all the Kushāṇa territories; and it is closely related to the metrological system of the copper coinage of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka—being the same weight as the middle copper denomination of these kings.[2] Soter Megas' introduction of this new denomination in copper thus seems to have been a deliberate move to unify the coinages of the Kushāṇa territories by introducing a denomination that was metrologically related to the Attic tetradrachms and drachms, but which could nevertheless circulate alongside the existing copper and billon of the Indian standard.

In general terms, we can now at last see the stages in the sequence from the multiplicity of coinages in the later Indo-Greek, Śaka and Pahlava series, where there was a different system of denominations and types in each principal province, to the single uniform system of the developed Kushāṇa coinage under Vima Kadphises. Kujula Kadphises coinages are all local in type and denomination taken over from the

1. *PMC*, I, 166, nos. 130 ff.
2. See my paper ' The Weight Standards of the Gold and Copper coinages of the Kushāṇa dynasty from Vima Kadphises to Vasudeva ', *JNSI*, xxii, 63 ff..

existing systems of the provinces he had inherited or conquered. The transition comes with Soter Megas, who began with a similar pattern of local coinages and types, but in his general coinage inaugurated the uniform system throughout his empire that was taken over and elaborated by Vima Kadphises. We now begin to see why Vincent Smith can point to so many features that Soter Megas shares with Vima Kadphises and Masson can point to so many features that Soter Megas shares with Kujula Kadphises. In broad chronological terms the coinage and denominations of Soter Megas constitute the transitional state between the coinages of Kujula and that of Vima Kadphises and this must be their place in the sequential development.

In their use of weight standards and systems, there is, however, a most remarkable distinction between Kujula Kadphises and Soter Megas. Except in the Roman head issue, Kujula Kadphises issued denominations that are derived in one way or another from the Indian weight standard. Soter Megas, on the other hand, normally uses the Attic weight standard of Bactrian origin even in his local coinage in the south-east Punjab, where there had incidentally been an Indian standard coinage of billon drachms struck by Kujula Kadphises in the Strato--Rājuvula sequence. Moreover, the only issue that Soter Megas struck on the Indian weight standard—the billon tetradrachms and drachms in the Zeus right mint of W. Gandhāra—is derived not from any coinage of Kujula Kadphises but from the fairly long Pahlava sequence of Aspavarṃa, Sasan and Abdagases.

There is a similar and related distinction in the use of Greek and Kharoshṭhī legends. Kujula Kadphises follows the pattern of the later Indo-Greek and Śaka coinages struck south of the Hindu Kush in having his legends in both Greek and Kharoshṭhī. Each of the various issues of Kujula Kadphises has a Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse which is often more literate and intelligible than the obverse Greek legend which it mirrors. But Soter Megas does not normally have any Kharoshṭhī legends at all. The sole exception is the Zeus standing right issue copying the Pahlava billon tetradrachms and drachms at a western Gandhāra mint, which also copies the Kharoshṭhī legend of its prototype. But the other local coinages of Soter Megas in Mathurā and Kapisene have legends in Greek alone, and so too does the common general coinage of Soter Megas. The use of legends in Greek alone on coins struck to the Attic weight standard had in the Indo-Greek series been the dis-

tinguishing feature of Bactrian coinages originating from north of the Hindu Kush.[1]

It is, however, in the employment of the characteristic symbol or *tamga* that there is perhaps the sharpest distincting between Kujula Kadphises and Soter Megas. Masson suggests that we do not know the symbol of Kujula Kadphises from the coins that bear his name.[2] This is not strictly correct because we do in fact have a characteristic three pronged symbol on both issues of the Roman head type of Kujula Kadphises, which is again found on two other coinages—the Demeter type billon tetradrachms and unique square coin in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. But Kujula's coinages do not in general have this Kadphises' symbol and its use is exceptional. Soter Megas, on the other hand, invariably places his own personal symbol in one form or another on all the coinages that he issues. In this, as in the evolving pattern of denominations, the coinage of Soter Megas represents an intermediate stage between the practice of Kujula Kadphises and the uniform pattern of the fully developed monetary system of Vima Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva.[3] But in this respect the use of a distinctive symbol on the coinages of a multiplicity of mints is not entirely the innovation of Soter Megas. It seems to be derived directly from the use of the dynastic Gondopharan symbol by the Phalava kings of the house of Gondophares[4] who preceded Soter Megas in the mint of western Gandhāra. This Gondopharan symbol, which is used as reverse type on one of the square copper denominations of Gondophares,[5] and as a countermark in Seistan on Parthian silver drachms,[6] is regularly used as a dynastic symbol on the extensive series of Pahlava coinages of the dynasty of Gondophares throughout the Punjab and the middle Indus

1. Lahiri, A. N., *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, 38.
2. Masson, M. E., loc, cit., 37.
3. Bivar in *NC*, 1955, 203 ff. who rather over simplifies the forms used. Masson gives a range of the various forms noted for each Kushāṇa king.
4. *PMC*, I, 94 f.
5. *PMC*, I, 153 no. 60.
6. *NC*, 1890, 119 and *JRAS*, 1904, 677.

provinces, although it is not employed by them on the Nike type copper tetradrachms of Arachosia or on the Pallas type billon drachms of Mathurā. In the coinage of these Pahlava kings of the house of Gondophares we can thus trace the transition between the infrequent use of a *tamga* by Kujula Kadphises on one or two issues only, and the regular and consistent use of a distinctive personal *tamga* on all their coinage by Soter Megas, Vima Kadphises, Kanishka and their successors.

A further point of difference between Kujula Kadphises and Soter Megas, which now assumes much greater significance, is the noticeable absence of any clear link in denomination or coin types between Kujula Kadphises and Soter Megas. It is not that the coinages circulated in completely different localities. The coins of both kings are common at Begram but the types of Kujula and Soter Megas that are found there in such abundance have no obvious relationship in obverse and reverse types, denominations or weight standard. There is equally no link between the Zeus r. billon tetradrachms of western Gandhāra and the types of Kujula that circulated in that locality ; and the Indian billon drachms with the Pallas type, struck by Kujula in the east Punjab have no obvious link with the Attic copper drachms of the Mathurā type of Soter Megas that are found in the east Punjab. In fact it is only in one series that Soter Megas uses the same Indian weight standard as Kujula, and that is in the Zeus r. mint of western Gandhāra where he derives the denomination, metal, weight standard, types, symbolism and the use of a *tamga* not from Kujula, but from the sequence of the Pahlava kings of the dynasty of Gondophares in that mint. The significance of all this is that in India at least between the coinages of Kujula Kadphises and of Soter Megas there was a sizeable chronological break and that in this gap comes the extensive series of the coinages of the dynasty of Gondophares in the Punjab.[2]

A chronological break of this sort between Kujula Kadphises and Soter Megas is really required by the evidence of finds from Taxila.[3] The Śaka/Pahlava city of Sirkap at Taxila seems to have been destroyed when the Kushāṇas overthrew Abdagases the last Pahlava king of the

1. *PMC*, I, 146 ff.
2. I have analysed the evidence for this in my paper ' The rise of Gondophares the Great ' read in the *RNS*, in 1967.
3. Marshall, *Taxila*,

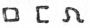
dynasty of Gondophares to strike billon tetradrachms of the Zeus Nikephorus type that is attributed to Taxila. There was some limited occupation of Sirkap after this destruction but on an attenuated scale. Whereas 90% of the Śaka/Pahlava coins are found in Sirkap, most of the coins of Vima Kadphises and the later Kushāṇas are found in the settlements and not in Sirkap. It is therefore highly surprising that Sirkap yields no fewer than 1975 coins of Kujula Kadphises of the Hermaeus bust/Heracles type—97% of the total found in Taxila. This compares with only 1284 billon coins of the Zeus Nikephorus type—the number which has served as the basis for attributing the Zeus Nikephorus type of the Śakas and Pahlavas to the mint of Taxila. Marshall's theory[1] that Vima captured Taxila (he did not recognise an independent Soter Megas) led him to presume that he imported the copper coinage of Kujula in considerable bulk from Kāpiśa and put it into circulation at Taxila. But this fails to explain why the Kujula coinage is found almost entirely in Sirkap and not predominantly in the settlements as we should expect on Marshall's hypothesis. Also from Sirkap are found nearly all the Pahlava coins of the dynasty of Gondophares—the kings who are known to have preceded Soter Megas in the adjoining mint of western Gandhāra. On the other hand, it is not in Sirkap but in the settlements that the great majority of the coins of Soter Megas and Vima Kadphises are found. In the excavations at Taxila there, as in the sequence of the mint of western Gandhāra, we have evidence of an early invasion of the Punjab by Kujula Kadphises, and a subsequent rise of the powerful kingdom of the dynasty of Gondophares which was in turn overthrown with the coming of Soter Megas.

It is not so easy to determine the size of the break between the rule of Kujula Kadphises and that of Soter Megas in India. Numismatic palaeography throws little light on this particular problem. It is of course clearly valid to argue that the use in different sequences of the same range of varied letter forms such as the square and round sigma, omicron, epsilon etc. by both Kujula Kadphises, Gondophares and Soter Megas indicate the same general chronological context i. e. the first century A. D. but is now becoming extremely doubtful whether numismatic palaeography is able to establish any absolute chronological significance to the introduction of any given letter form.[2] In individual mints it does

1. Op. cit.
2 See Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, 157-159 against Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 1941, 233 ff.

indeed seem possible to trace a coherent and consistent development, and once introduced a new letter form tends to become the norm until the next major change is made. But it is equally clear that in a period of change, the same changes were not introduced to all the mints of a sovereign at the same time. Under Gondophares for example we find

on his Parthian type silver drachms struck in Aria[1],

 on his Nike type copper tetradrachms struck in Arachosia[2],

on his Pallas type billon tetradrachms struck in Gandhāra.[3]

The round forms of omicron, sigma and omega that were new to coinage in this century, had of course been used in both the cursive writing[4] and literary or book hand of papyri[5] from the third century B.C. onwards.

But there are some clear chronological links independent of numismatic palaeography that connect Kujula Kadphises with the earlier decades of the first century A. D., Gondophares with the middle years and Soter Megas rather later.

Kujula Kadphises in his bull and camel coinages copies not only the denominations and obverse type from the copper denominations of Zeionises, but also the corrupt and misunderstood Greek legend. The significant thing about this is that the copper denomination of Zeionises had constituted the token change in copper for the silver tetradrachms of Zeionises, and the use of silver coinage at time of the coming of Kujula suggests that this emission must be some time before A. D. 42—the clear *terminus ante quem* established by an important passage in Philostratus, *Life of Appollonius of Tyana*.[6] Philostratus says explicitly that the people who live between the Indian Caucasus, the River Kophen and Taxila have a coinage not of gold or silver but of orichalcum and black brass, with which all who came to the land of the Indians must purchase every-

1. Markov, *Unpublished Arsacid Coins*, Leningrad, 1892, Pl. IV. 25.
2. *BMC*, *Greek and Scythic Kings*, 105, nos. 13 ff.
3. *PMC*, I, 150 ff.
4. See Thompson, E. M, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Palaeography*, 130 ff. and the examples reproduced there, like the Will of Demetrius 237 BC.
5. Ibid, 118 ff., and the examples cited there.
6. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, II, 7.

thing. There is an even earlier date for Kujula Kadphises suggested by the Roman head type of Kujula Kadphises which seems to be one of his latest and more developed types. The head on the obverse is almost certainly copied from that of Augustus (d. A. D. 14) or Tiberius (d. A. D. 37). Allan[1] suggested that the reverse was borrowed from Claudius' type of Constantia seated on a curule chair, but I have pointed out[2] that the reverse is not copied very closely from any Roman prototype, the reverse seated figure was obviously an oriental and the curule chair had already been used as a reverse type on a group of copper coins of Azes II.

Gondophares' context is now tied more closely to the dated Parthian coinage by the features that Mukherji[3] has shown to be derived from the issue of Artabanus III dated in year 338 (S. E.) i. e. A. D. 27/28—a link which reinforces the dating of those who refer to the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of Gondophares in year 103[4] to the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. making the 26th year of his reign A.D. 45/46.

Soter Megas follows Abdagases, the nephew of Sasan-Gondophares, in the mint of western Gandhāra[5] and in sequence revealed by the excavations at Taxila. This chronological relation to the Pahlavas of the house of Gondophares is heavily reinforced by the way in which coins of Soter Megas are in turn overstruck by types of Pacores, a Pahlava successor of Abdagases in the copper tetradrachm Nike coinage of Arachosia.[6] Abdagases was the first king in the Indo-Parthian silver drachm series to introduce a Pahlavic legend on the obverse,[7] and in this he was copying the innovation, first made in the main Parthian series by Vologases I (A.D. 50-78), of placing the first letters of the king's name in Pahlavic behind his bust.[8] This suggests that the western Gandhāran type of Soter Megas which followed Abdagases must come some time after Volagases I (A.D. 58—70) whose innovation was copied by Abdagases.

1. Allan, J. in *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, 74.
2. '*Numismatic Evidence for the Date of Kanishka*' to be published in this volume on the conference on the date of Kanishka 1960.
3. *IHQ*, 1962, 239 ff.
4. *CII*, II, pt. I, 57 ff.
5. *PMC*, I, 153 no. 61 and *PMC*, I, 160 no. 96.
6. Simonetta, A., *East and West*, VIII (1957), 53.
7. *Naville Sale*, XII Geneva (1926) no. 2586.
8. Wroth, W., *BMC* : *Coins of Parthia*, 182 f.

We can now at last begin to appreciate and evaluate the relative weight and strength of the links that various scholars have established between the coinages of Soter Megas and other series in the 1st century A. D.—the links with Kujula Kadphises noted by Masson, with the Pahlavas of the dynasty of Gondophares implied by the arrangement of Gardner and Whitehead and with Vima Kadphises noted by Cunningham and Vincent Smith.

The distinctive Bactrian links of Soter Megas coinages in type, metrology and denominations, even in these issues like the Mathurā type and the general coinage which circulated extensively in India, reveal a very different origin from Kujula Kadphises and point unmistakeably to the Bactrian origin of the nameless king who overthrew the Pahlavas in Gandhāra and reestablished Kushāṇa rule in the Punjab. If this Kushāṇa conqueror came from Bactria we hardly fail to identify him with the reference in Periplus[1] καὶ τούτων ἐπάνω μαχιμώτατον ἔθνος Βακτριανῶν ὑπὸ βασιλέα <κ>ουσαν.. . the most warlike race of the Bactrians under a Kushāṇa king...[2]. And if Soter Megas was a Kushāṇa king of Bactrian origin, in a way that Kujula Kadphises was not, and was separated from Kujula Kadphises by the sizeable break of the epoch of Pahlava rule in the Punjab, we can hardly deny that Soter Megas was a distant Kushāṇa monarch.

The numismatic context that we can show for Soter Megas the " nameless king " the king of kings, the great, the saviour, the Kushāṇa ruler responsible for the reconquest and consolidation of the Kushāṇa empire in N. W. India and for the destruction of Taxila is indeed the same as that of the group of inscriptions which like the coins give royal titles but no personal names—the Panjtār stone[3] of year 122, the Kalawan copper plate[4] of year 134 and the Bhir Mound inscription on the Taxila

1. *Periplus*, 49.
2. Wilson, N.G. and I have discussed this in ' Further Numismatic Evidence for the Date of the Periplus ' to be published in *NC*, 1969.
3. *CII*, II, pt. I, 67 ff.
4. *JRAS*, 1932, 949 ff.

silver scroll of year 136[1]—a group of inscriptions that precede the Vima inscription of year 184 from Khalatse.[2] We can also now appreciate the reason for the anonymity of the " nameless king ". Being the founder of a new empire and a new dynasty he would naturally be known by his grandiose and honorific titles, just as Octavian the first Roman emperor ceased to use his personal name after the Battle of Actium and was known merely by his titles Caesar Augustus Imperator etc.[3] (Indeed if we had no literary evidence we would not find it at all easy to elucidate Augustus, personal name from his coins). We can equally well appreciate why Vima Kadphises uses the same honorific titles as Soter Megas with the addition of his own personal names. It is the natural procedure for a successor to copy the full titulature of the illustrious founder whom he is following, just as Tiberius the second Roman emperor did in styling himself Tiberius Caesar Augustus Imperator.[4]

Now at last we can recognise the full significance of the coinage and inscriptions of the " nameless king " the successor of Kujula Kadphises and predecessor of Vima Kadphises. He is the first Kushāṇa king to rule an extensive hegemony both north and south of the Hindu Kush, who built up his Indian empire by defeating the Pahlava dynasty of Gondophares that had taken over the earlier conquests of Kujula Kadphises in the Punjab. And in doing so, we restore him to his rightful place as the Augustus who was principal founder of the Kushāṇa empire in India.

1. *CII*, II, pt. I, 70 ff.
2. Ibid, 79 ff.
3. *BMCRE*, I, lxvi ff..
4. Ibid.

SOME RARE VARIETIES OF UNINSCRIBED COINS IN ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

R. R. *TRIPATHI*

[PL. II]

The coin cabinet of Allahabad Museum possesses a large variety of uninscribed and unattributed coins from a number of ancient sites. Some of them are being described below :

1. Round Copper Coin from Ahichchhatra

Reg. No. 489; diam. 2.2 c.m.; weight 9.300 grammes.

Obv. : Taurine inside a U shaped frame on the left; standing crude human figure in the centre ; tree-in-railing on the right ; below two zigzag horizontal lines one above the other; a *Jayadhvaja* in railing laid horizontally above the taurine and the human figure.

Rev. : Plain or obliterated.

(PL. II. 5)

The taurine inside U shaped frame, as found on the obverse of the above described coin, has been noticed earlier on some Eraṇ coins published by Cunningham[1] and Allan[2]. One more square coin from Eraṇ preserving similar symbol has been published by B. C. Jain[3]. But these coins are quite different from our coin in shape and size. These Eraṇ coins differ from the above described coin on the following counts :

(a) The Eraṇ coins are square in shape while the coin described above is round.

(b) The group of symbols in the Eraṇ coins of Cunningham and Allan is taurine inside U shaped frame ; *Jayadhvaja* in railing ; elephant and circle with a central dot surrounded by taurines alternated by umbrella shaped symbols while the coin published

1. Cunningham, *CAI*, Pl. XI, 3.
2. Allan, *BMCAI*, pp. 143, var. (K) Nos. 26-27, pl. XVIII. 9 & 21.
3. *JNSI*, XXIV, 1962, pp. 69, No. 6, pl. IX, 7.

by B.C. Jain preserves the taurine inside U shaped frame surrounded by fishes and tortoises. In the coin being described presently human figure, tree-in-railing and zigzag lines make it different from the above mentioned coins.

(c) Our coin is thicker and heavier than others referred to above.

Thus the Museum coin belongs to a different series. The symbol, taurine inside U shaped frame, is noticed on punch-marked silver coins[1] also.

2. Round Copper Coin

Reg. No. 797 ; provenance uncertain; diam. 1.9 c.m.; weight 2.798 grammes.

Obv. *Jayadhvaja* in railing laid horizontally at the top ; taurine placed inside a U shaped frame below.

Rev. Plain or obliterated.

(PL. II. 6)

This coin appears to be similar in shape and fabric to the coin described above, no. 1. These coins differ from each other with regard to their weight and size. The present coin is smaller in size and lighter in weight than the coin described above. Another difference between these coins lies in their existing arrangement of symbols. This coin preserves only two symbols while the coin described above preserves a human figure and tree-in-railing in excess. The symbols, *Jayadhvaja* in railing and taurine inside U shaped frame are common to both and placed on the coins in the same position.

Though there is a great similarity between these coins yet their difference indicates that they belong to separate series of issues.

The comparison of these two types of coins preserving majority of common features on them induces me to propose the place of origin of the present coin to be Ahichchhtra because the former coin comes from the same place.

3. Small Round Copper Coin from Ahichchhtra

Reg. No. 631 ; diam. 1.00 c. m. ; weight 1.317 grammes.

Obv. The symbol (tree ?)

Rev. Obliterated.

(PL. II. 7)

1. Durga Prasad, *NS*, XLVII, pl. III-A, A1, A 2 and A 3.

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The obverse side of Yaudheya coins of class I, var. C.[1] preserves a similar symbol ( ) as noticed on the coin described above. With minor variations this symbol is found on other copper coins as well. The coins on which it is seen are as follows :

(*a*) On the obverse of Mathura coins of Gomitra I.
(*b*) On the Mathura coins of Rajuvula of class II and III.
(*c*) On the reverse of the Panchala coin of Phalgunimitra.
(*d*) On the reverse of the Panchala coin of Bhadraghosha.
(*e*) On the obverse of the Taxila coins of class III, var. c & d.
(*f*) On the obverse of the Ujjayini coins of class I, var. J.[2]
(*g*) On the reverse of the Panchala coin of Viśvapāla.[3]

One thing to be marked in this respect is, that the examples of this symbol occuring on different coins stated above are found in association with other symbols too while our specimen preserves it singly and exclusively.

4. Rectangular Copper Coin

Reg. No. 92 ; provenance uncertain; size 1.5×1.3 c.m. ; weight 3.635 grammes.

Obv. : Tree-in-railing in the centre ; two bulls stand on either sides of the tree facing it ; below a straight line, indistinct at the top.

Rev. : A horse standing to right ; a taurine above the back of the animal.

(PL. II. 8)

The ancient Indian copper coins bearing one bull facing a tree or any other symbol have been noticed in abundance but are uninscribed.

Specimens having two bulls standing facing each other before a tree-in-railing or any other symbol have not been noticed so far, at least in Northern India. This appears to be the first example of the type. A horse on Kausambi coins too is rare.

Published coins from Eraṇ and Ujjayini too do not preserve the arrangement of symbols as seen on the obverse of the present specimen.

1. Allan, *BMCAI*, p. 266.
2. Ibid, pp. 169, 187, 194, 197, 229, 230 and 244 respectively.
3. Ibid, pp. CXIX, 135.

Though the single bull before a symbol is common there too yet two bulls facing each other before a symbol are missing. From the fabric and texture its place of origin appears to be central India.

5. Circular Copper Coin from Kausambi

Reg. No. 274 ; diam. 1.2 c.m. ; weight 1.530 grammes.

Obv. : Ujjayini symbol on left ; tree-in-railing on the right, hind part of an animal (bull ?) on the extreme right end.

Rev. : Plain. **(PL. II. 97)**

The tree found on the obverse of the coin appears to be a leafless one. Three similar coins[1] in the Museum coin cabinet, show the same type of tree. Such trees have been noticed in a series of silver punch-marked coins[2] too.

The three coins mentioned above preserve a tree-in-railing on the left and a bull standing to right with its hind part towards the tree. In the coin, described above, the forepart of the bull has gone out of the flan of the coin while the Ujjain symbol on the left is another addition to the already noticed symbols on other three coins referred to above. In this way the present coin completes the group of symbols existing on the coins of the above quoted series of issue.

All the coins referred to above are similar in shape and fabric. They preserve the same group of symbols but vary in weight and size.

6. Square Cast Copper Coin from Kausambi

Reg. No. 161; size 1.1 x. 1. c. m. ; weight 1.119 gms.

Obv. : Bull standing to left above straight line before a reversed taurine ; *swastika* above the haunch of the bull on the top right corner.

Rev. : Tree in rialing on the left ; hollow cross on the right and Ujjain symbol above it. **(PL. II. 10)**

Allan has published 19 varieties of uninscribed cast coins in the *BMCAI*[3]. Among them variety C of Allan appears to be similar to the above described coin. The reverse of both coins bears the same type

1. Reg. No. 618, 415 and 227. No. 415 is published in *JNSI*, XXVIII, II, pl. VI.
2. Allan, *BMCAI*, pp. 17-23, XXXI, LX.
3. *BMCAI*, pp. 85, pl. XI & XII.

of symbols with the same arrangement but the obverse of the present coin has a bull instead of a lion.[1] There is another noteworthy point of difference between these specimens. On our coin there is a reversed taurine before the bull while the British Museum specimen has none. Again the British Museum specimen bears a *Jayadhvaja* below the animal while our coin contains simply a straight line below the bull. The *swastika* is found on both coins in the same position. If Allan is correct in identifying the animal as lion, our specimen proves to be an additional variety of uninscribed cast coin. But we think his identification is wrong and the animal on his coin is a bull, thus both these specimens belong to the same category.

7. Circular Copper Coin

Reg. No. 176 ; provenance unknown; diam. 1.3 c.m. ; weight :— 1.929 grammes.

Obv : A rabbit running to left ; *triratna* above ; snake like line below.

Rev. : *Triratna* (indistinct) on the left, two circles one above the other on a vertical line ( ) on the right.

(PL. II. 11)

The presence of a rabit on uninscribed copper coins appears to be an unusual feature while it is noticed on punch-marked silver coins.[2] The symbol, 'two circles on a vertical line' ( ) found on the reverse of the present specimen, is rare on copper coins but certain series of punch-marked silver coins preserve a similar symbol with three circles on the vertical line.[3] In this way there is a minor difference between the symbols present on the specimens referred to above. A somewhat simlar instance is found on the coin of Viśṇudeva from Kanauj (?) with an arrow head at the top of the vertical line with two circles.[4] A second example of a similar symbol has been noticed by me on another inscribed copper coin present in cabinet of Shri Janeshwar Das of Allahabad.[5] But the vertical line on this coin is curved at the top.

1. *BMCAI*, pl. XI, 3.
2. *JASB*, part I, Nos. III and IV, 1890, pl. VIII. 21 and 23; and Allan, *BMCAI*, p. 41.
3. Durga Prasad, *Observations on the silver punch-marked coins of Ancient India*, pl. II from L to M8; Allan ; *BMCAI*, pp. 26-39, 49, 54, 73-4.
4. Allan, *BMCAI*, p. 147, pl. IX. 13.
5. *JNSI*, XXV, part II, p. 243, pl. 148.

8. Rectangular Copper Coin from Kausambi

Reg. No. 203, size 1.5×1.3 c.m; weight 4.052 gms.

Obv. : A humped bull standing to left before a taurine.

Rev. : Blank.

(PL. II. 12)

This is a die-struck coin. Certain coins of the same fabric have already been published by Cunningham,[1] and Allan[2] from Taxila. Altekar also published one coin of this fabric from Kausambi.[3] Cunningham identifies the animals on his coins as elephants and galloping horse while Allan holds them to be lions standing before *Jayadhvaja*. Altekar identifies the animal as a dog standing before a V-topped standard : the so-called *Jayadhvaja* on the coin published by him. On our coin the animal is a bull standing before an incomplete symbol resembling the symbol which is found on a gold coin from Taxila published by Cunningham.[4] On our coin the left side part (crescent) of the symbol pointed above, has gone out of the flan of the coin. As such our coin is quite different from the coins already published, so far as the symbols and devices present on them are concerned.

9. Rectangular Copper Coin

Reg. No. 624; provenance unknown; size 1.6×.8 c.m.; weight 1.602 grammes.

Obv. : A pole inside a railing topped with a lion to left standing on a rectangular pedestal.

Rev. : A frog(?) and many indistinct symbols.

(PL. III. 13)

This coin appears to me to be the fragment of a larger coin because the right side edge of it is uneven while the left one is quite smooth. The original coin must have been at least double the size of the present piece in width. The symbol, a lion on a pole fixed inside a railing, as found on the obverse side of this coin, has not so far been noticed on uninscribed coins of India. The frog as seen on the reverse of this

1. Cunningham, *CAI*, pp. 62, pl. II. 3, 4 and 5.
2. Allan, *BMCAI*, pp. 237, var. C., pl. XLV. 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8.
3. Altekar, *JNSI*, IV, part I, pl. II. 13; coin no. 3.
4. Cunningham, *CAI*, pl. II. 18.

coin is seen on punch-marked silver coins[1] as well as copper[2] coins of ancient India.

10. A Circular Copper Coin from Ahichchhatra

Reg. No. 769; diam. 1.9. c.m. ; weight 2.334 gms.

Obv. : A pair of Nāga symbols ( ) inside a circle.

Rev. : Above a crude bull(?) to right; below two indistinct symbols resembling *swastika* and taurine respectively or a pole inside a railing topped with a triangular symbol resembling *triratna*.

(PL. I. 14)

Rapson has published two lead coins which preserve Nāga symbols on the obverse while a lion and *Nandipada* on their reverse[1]. A comparison of our coin and the coins published by Rapson shows that the former has no connection with the latter in any respect except the presence of the Nāga symbols on either of the series of issues. The existence of the Nāga symbols is not a new thing for Northern Indian copper coins but its independent entity on the obverse of this coin gives it a unique position in this region. This symbol in association with other known symbols is noticed on the reverse of A yodhya coins of Viśākhadeva,[2] Kuluta coins of Viryasa,[3] and the coins of Kunindas[4] while on the present coin its presence is exclusive.

1. Allan, *BMCAI*, pf. 74 var. (b) and (c) and p. 78, Var (h).
2. Ibid, pp. 253 reverse of Ujjayini coins of class 3, var. (a).
3. Ibid, C-1 58.
4. Ibid, H, C, 1.

A LEAD COIN OF SUJYESHTHA

M.D.N. SAHI

[**PL. III**]

The coin under study was obtained during the trial trenching operations at Atranjikhera (1962),[1] under the direction of Mr. R.C. Gaur. It is a die struck circular coin of lead and is in a failry good state of preservation. The following is a description of the coin :—

Metal : Lead; diameter : *obv.* 1.5 cms. ; *rev.* 1.75 cms.; max. thickness : O.4cm. ; weight : 8.815 grams. (=136 grains).

Obv. : In the centre Abhisheka Lakshmī i.e., Lakshmī standing on lotus, with a twin stalk and flower on either side of the deity. On each flower stands an elephant (miniature) holding together a *Chhatra* over the head of the goddess. The body of the elephant on her left is damaged. Around her head is a girdle of dots. On her left towards the outer edge is a tree with multiple branches and dot-like leaves (Kadamba tree ?). Between the *Chhatra* and the apex of the tree over the back of the left elephant is the Ujjain symbol (cross and ball) of which two orbs are outside of the flan. In the lower left region along the periphery runs a legend which can be read as *Sujethas* (of Sujyeshṭha).

Rev. : The Ujjain symbol of large size with Brāhmi '*ya*' in one orb. The signs in other orbs are indistinct.

(PL. III. 2)

This coin was obtained from a deposit which is stratigraphically earlier than the one which has yielded a coin of Kshatrapa Hagāmasha in the same trench. Palaeographically the coin cannot be placed later than the 2nd century B.C. cursive '*ja*' and '*sa*' are more or less Mauryan

1. I should express my gratitude to Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, my Head of the Department, who has very kindly permitted me to write this paper even before the Final Report of excavations at Atranjikhera, has been made public.

in feature. Nail headed and squattish formation of letters which are characteristically a later development is absent in the letters of the legend of this coin.

On account of its features the coin can be associated with either Mathura or Ujjain—Vidiśā—Eraṇ series. Representations of Lakshmī occur on the coins of both the regions. The small Ujjain symbol is also to be found on the coins of both these regions. But it is mainly the reverse device of the present coin which distinguishes it from the coins of Mathura (which instead of Ujjain symbol generally have elephant motif) and associates it with the coins of Ujjain—Vidiśā—Eraṇ region.[1] Certain lead coins[2] with similar Ujjain symbol on the reverse were issued by the members of the Sātavāhana dynasty, but the Lakshmī motif is conspicuously absent from the Āndhra coins.

Considering the time factor and the association of this coin with the coins of Ujjain—Vidiśā region the author is inclined to identify Sujetha of the coin with Sujyeshṭha, the third ruler of the imperial Śuṅga line as mentioned in the Purāṇas.[3] However, considering the occurrence of Kadamba tree on the obverse and that the chances of mobility of a coin of baser metal is much less it may be suggested that the coin was meant for circulation in the Gangetic Valley.

Sujyeshṭha did not issue coins of lead only. A copper coin of his is also known.[4] Palaeographically his lead and copper coins may be put in one group. The *Chakra,* the kind on the horse back and a man on foot on the obverse of his copper coin may signify that either he repeated the performance of his predecessor Pushyamitra and thus became a *Chakravarti-rājā* or that, through this coin, which is only commemorative in nature, he is recalling the first *aśvamedha* sacrifice of Pushyamitra in which he was most probably given the charge of guarding the horse as was done by Sumitra (or Vasumitra) in the second one.

1. Smith, V., *IMC,* I, p. 53. (Nos. 19 & 20); Cunningham, *CAI,* Plate X , figs. 13 4, 7, and 10 etc.
2. Rapson, E, J., *BMC AWK,* pp. CIXV-CIXVIII.
3. Pargiter, *Purana Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age,* p. 31 ; Sastri, K.A.N. (Ed.), *Comprehensive History of India,* Vol. II, p. 100. According to Prof. Jagannath, Sujyeshtha appears to be the correct form of name, the variant Vasujyeshtha being due to the confusion between '*ch*' and '*v*' which are alike in Gupta Script.
4. Ghosa, A. , *JNSI,* XVI, Pt. I, p. 59-60,

Whatever may have been the purpose of the issue of this copper coin of which the find spot is not known, the lead coin offers strong evidence to conclude that during the region of Sujyeshṭha Atranjikhera was within the Śuṅga territory and it may have been the North-Western outpost of the Śuṅga kingdom.

The existence and extension of Śuṅga kingdom in the region of Atranjikhera is not incompatible with the view that Mathura and Panchala had already become independent kingdoms at the time of the *coup* of Pushyamitra or since the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. Allan has rightly pointed out that attempts have from time to time been made to identify rulers of the Panchala dynasty withn ames in the Puranic lists of the Śuṅga dynasty, but without success.[1] While dealing with the coins of Mathura he holds that the coins of the Hindu rulers of Mathura cover the period from the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. to the middle of the 1st century B.C.[2] A.K. Narain offers a new interpretation of the *Yugapurāṇa* passage in which it is said that 'the Panchala and Mathura powers, together with the Yavanas who were known for their valour attacked Sāketa marched on to possess Kusumadhvaja (Pataliputra).,[3] Accordingly these two states must have been independent kingdoms at the time of Yavana invasion. There is sufficient literary evidence[4] to indicate that it was Pushyamitra who had to bear the burnt of this Yavana invasion. The present author has alsocome to the same view on the basis of archaeological evidence obtained from recent excavations.[5]

In the initial stages, the Mathura kingdom must have been very small, including probably a part of Bulandshahar (Baranaya)of the coin of Gomitra.[6] Gomitra I may have been the ruler of Mathura at this stage whose coin is not only palaeographically one of the earliest of the Mathura series but also strikingly similar to the Punch-marked and cast-copper coins of the region in shape as well as in the execution of symbols. Consequently the eastward extension of this kingdom might have

1. Allan, J., *BMCAI*, p. CXX.
2. Ibid, p. CX.
3. Narain, A. K., *Indo-Greeks* (1957), pp. 82-83 and 176.
4. Kielhorn, F. (ed), *Mahabhashya* III 2. III. Vol. II, p. 119.
5. The present author read a paper entitled '*Bearing of excavations on the Chronology of Mathura coins*' at the Seminar on Local coins of Northern India, held at Varanasi on 24 December, 1966.
6. Cunningham, A., *CAI*, p. 88 and Plate VIII Mos. 10 & 11 ; Allan, J. : *BMC, AI* p. 169.

taken place after the death of Sujyeshṭha, which is indicated by the wider distribution of '*Mitra*' and '*Datta*' series of coins and the still wider distribution of the coins of the Kshatrapas of Mathura. It is in this way that we can also explain the adoption of the Lakshmī motif on the coins of 'Datta' and 'Mitra' kings (which is absent on the coins of Gomitra I), by attributing the innovation to the acquisition of new territory, where this motif was already popular through the coins of Sujyeshṭha.

The exact relationship of Sujyeshṭha with either Pushyamitra or Agnimitra (or Sumitra) is not yet certain. According to Smith he was probably a brother of Agnimitra.[1] S. Chattopadhyaya takes him to be the eldest son of Agnimitra, and asserts, on the basis of *Malavikāgnimitram* and *Harshacharita,* that the Puranic account is wrong in saying that Vasumitra was the son of Vasujyeshṭha.[2]

The present coin also throws some light on the economic conditions prevailing during the Śuṅga period which lasted for 112 years. Its significance lies in the fact that in the present state of our knowledge it is perhaps the earliest lead coin of Northern India ; and its introducttion was thus an innovation in the currency of Northern India by Sujyeshṭha. Other reported lead coins found in Northern India are of a later date.

Āndhras had 'special partiality for lead' as a metal for coinage[3] and since a few Sātavāhana rulers preceded[4] Sujyeshṭha it is quite likely that he might have derived his inspiration from these Southern rulers. Further it appears that the tradition of issuing lead coins which was initiated by Sujyeshṭha was followed for a long time afterwards. Subsequently, we find Strato, Azilises, Śodasa and Rājuvula issuing lead coins on the pattern of those of Sujyeshṭha till the beginning of the Christian Era.[5] Certain unassigned lead coins reported by Allan as Nos. 15-21.,[6] and ranging between 43.5 to 63.2 grains and probably obtained from Atranjikhera, on the consideration of their weight may have been issued by any of the later rulers.

1. Smith, V., *The Early History of India,* (Oxford, 1900), p. 191.
2. Chattapodhyaya, S., *Early History of North India,* (1958), p. 24.
3. Smith, V. A., *IMC,* I, p. 208.
4. Sastri, K. A. M. (ed.), *Compreshensive History of India,* Vol. II, pp. 840-41.
5. Bhandarkar, D. R., *Ancient Indian Numismatics,* p. 148.
6. Smith, V. A., *IMC,* I, p. 199.

Let us now critically analyse the reason and purpose of this innovation by Sujyeshṭha. Shortage of copper is ruled out by his own resort to bimetallism as exemplified by his copper issue. Moreover, if the Bihar source of copper was blocked, the Rajasthan source would have been available. Unstable economic conditions also do not appear to be the cause. There is ample evidence to indicate that in the preceding period under the Mauryas the economy of India was put on a sound footing.[1] Pliny also states that 'India has neither brass nor lead but exchanges precious stones and pearls for them.'[2] This statement of Pliny may be accepted so far as it testifies to the fact that lead was imported and there was no scarcity of precious stones and pearls; but his statement that India had neither brass nor lead has to be taken with a grain of salt. Ores of lead chiefly galena occurs in the Himalayas, Madras, Rajputana and Bihar, but their remunerative mining is impossible because of the cheap price of imported lead.[3] The importation of lead was mainly necessitated by the employment of the metal for the purposes of coinage.[4]

In our opinion this positive attempt to use lead on the part of Sujyeshṭha, might be connected with a movement towards money economy, i.e., in the words of M.M. Postan 'the general expansion of the relative frequency of money payments'.[5] It may further be pointed out that this innovation by Sujyeshṭha was not only connected with the movement towards money economy, it is probably to be regarded as an index of such movement, and also as in itself a factor helping to enlarge the sphere of monetization. Romila Thapar[6] and R. S. Sharma[7] also refer to the establishment and prevalence of money economy during the post-Mauryan period (between 200 B.C. to A.D. 200); and this coin offers strong corroborative evidence of this process.

1. Sharma, R. S., *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, (Bombay, 1966), pp. 65-70.
2. Schoff, W. H., *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, quoted from Pliny. XXXIV, 17, p. 22.
3. Wadia, D. N., *Geology in India*, p. 351.
4. Elliot, Sir Walter, *The Coins of Southern India*, p. 22.
5. Carus-Wilson (ed), *Essays in Economic History*, (Reprint for the economic History Society), (London, 1958) p. 5.
6. Thapar, Romila, *A History of India*, Vol. I, p. 112.
7. Sharma, R. S., *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, (Bombay, 1966), p. 78

THE COINAGE OF THE VEMAKIS

BELA LAHIRI

The so-called 'Tribal Coins', i.e. those bearing the names of particular tribes and coming from the Punjab and Rajasthan areas can be grouped into three categories according to their legends :

(1) Coins referring to the *janapada* or the country where the tribe settled, e.g. those bearing the legend, *Rājanya janapadasa* meaning '[Coin*] of the country of the Rājanyas'. Sometimes the name of the tribe was also mentioned in the legend, e.g. *Majhamikāya Śibi-janapadasa,* indicating '[Coin*] of the country of the Śibis [settled] at Madhyamikā'.

(2) Coins referring to the *gaṇa* or republic of the tribe (in the legend), e.g. *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jayaḥ,* meaning 'Victory to the republic of the Yaudheyas.'

(3) Those bearing the name of the tribe as well as that of the tribal chief, styled as *rājan* or *mahārāja,* in the legend, e.g. *Rājñaḥ Kulūtasya Vīrayaśasya,* meaning '[Coin*] of King Virayaśas, the Kaulūta (i.e. belonging to the Kulūta tribe)'.

The Vemakis are one of the Punjab tribes who are known from their coinages of the post-Mauryan period. Rapson observed that 'a people of this name seems not to be known from any other source',[1] while Allan suggested that the Vemakis might be an otherwise unknown family of the Audumbaras.'[2] R. C. Kar has, however, pointed out that a tribe called 'Vaiyāmaka' is mentioned in the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* along with the Audumbaras and other tribes of the Himalayan region like the Darvas, the Kaśmīras, and the Trigartas. He has also shown that Bhaṭṭotpala, the commentator of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, refers to a tribe called 'Vaimaka' in the North-Eastern Division of India in association with the Kāśmīras, Daradas, Darvābhisāras, and others.[3] But the 'Vaiyāmakas' of the *Mahābhārata* may not be the same

1. *JRAS*, 1900, p. 429, n. 2.
2. *BMCAI*, p. lxxxvi.
3. *IHQ*, XX, pp. 60-61.

as 'Vaimakas' of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, although the latter may be identical with the Vemakis or Vaimakis of our coins.[1]

The literary references suggest that the Vaimakis are to be located in the neighbourhood of the Audumbaras and the other northern tribes with whom they are associated. This is also supported by the provenance of their coins which come from the north-eastern Punjab.[2] It may be noted in this connection that Cunningham's classification of the coin of Rudravarman with those of the Audumbaras tends to show that the territories of the Vaimakis and the Audumbaras were adjacent.

The Vemakis are so far known from two coins only—one of copper, and another of silver. The copper piece which is square in shape and seems to be earlier in date depicts on the obverse an elephant to right with the *nandipada* symbol behind and the Brāhmī legend, *V-mak-napapasa* (?), and on the reverse a bull to left with *nandipada* and *svastika* above.[3] The legend evidently refers to the *janapada* or the country of the Vaimaka tribe.

The silver coin bears on the obverse the figure of an elephant to right with a trident-battle-axe in front and the circular Brāhmī legend *Rājño Vamakisa Rudavarmasa vijaya* (*to*), and on the obverse that of a bull to right with lotus in front and the Kharoshṭhī legend in two parts : (above) *Raña Vamakisa Rudavamasa* (below) *vijayata*.[4] The coin recalls the very common Elephant-Bull (Indian) drachms of the Indo-Greek ruler Apollodotus[5] and betrays the influence of the Indo-Greek coinage not only in the devices but also in its fabric, weight-standard and in the use of silver and the Kharoshṭhī legend. The Elephant-Bull type is,

1. D. C. Sircar shows that Vemaka is the name of a sage mentioned in the *Harivamsa* (III, 1, 14-15) and *Brahmapurana* (13, 136-137) and that the " clan-name Vaimaki is derived not from the name Vimaki but from Vemaka through the intermediate form Vaimaka..." (*JNSI*, XXIV, p. 6).
2. The coin of Rudravarman was found along with the Audumbara coins ' in the Northern Punjab, beyond Lahore' (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 66), while the *Janapada* coin ' came from the Punjab, probably from the Hoshiarpur district ' (*BMCAI*, p. cliv).
3. *BMCAI*, p. 280, Pl. XLV. 14.
4. See *CAI*, p. 68, Pl. IV. 6 and *BMCAI*, pp. lxxv and 125, Pl. XIV. 13. D. C. Sircar suggests *Vijayata* or *Vijayato* in place of *Vijayaka* or *Vijayaya* in the legend as read by Allan, *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 7. See for the form *Vemaki* or *Vaimaki* Rapson, *JRAS*, 1900, p. 429, n. 2.
5. See *PMC*, Vol. I, p. 40, Pl. IV. 231 for Apollodotus's coin.

however, also seen on the *janapada* issue of the Vaimakis and thus connects the copper piece with the silver coin of Rudravarman who calls himself a Vaimaki.

Closely allied with the silver coin of Rudravarman there are two other silver pieces bearing the name of one Mahādeva, which are classed by Cunningham as well as Allan along with the Audumbara coins.[1] The type is the same as that of Rudravarman, with the only exception that the elephant on the obverse on both the coins of Mahādeva is turned to the left, while that of Rudravarman is seen to the right. The bull on the reverse of Mahādeva's coins has, however, both the varieties—it is seen either to the right as on Rudravarman's coin, or to the left. The Brāhmī legend on the obverse reads, *Bhagavata Mahādevasa rājarāja,* while the Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse is *Bhagavata Mahadevasa rajaraña.* Although the tribal name is absent, "the attribution of these pieces to the Audumbaras is based on the name Mahādeva, the type elephant with a trident in front, and general similarity to the coins of Dharaghosha".[2]

As to the name Mahādeva, Allan discovers it in the fragmentary legends on some of the square copper coins bearing the name of the Audumbara tribe. The names of three Audumbara chiefs viz. Dharaghosha, Rudradāsa and Śivadāsa are known from these coins, with the following legends respectively[3]:'

1. *Mahadevasa raña Dharaghoshasa Odu(ṁ)barisa.*
2. *Mahadevasa raña Rudradasasa Odu(ṁ)barisa.*
3. *Mahadevasa raña Śivadasasa Odu(ṁ)barisa.*

To this list, Allan adds the name of a fourth Audumbara ruler viz. Mahādeva, by restoring the fragmentary legends on some other coins as *Mahadevasa raña Odu(m)barisa.* While admitting that the coins with this legend may really be specimens of other rulers with incomplete legends, he thinks that the silver coins bearing the name of Mahādeva establish the existence of a ruler of that name.[4] He thus identifies the hypothetical Mahādeva of the square copper cois with Mahādeva of the silver coins, and takes him to be an Audumbara chief.

1. *CAI*, p. 68, Pl. IV. 5 and *BMCAI*, p. 123, Pl. XIV. 16-17.
2. *BMCAI*, p. lxxxv.
3. Ibid, pp. lxxxiii-iv, and 125, Pl. XIV. 15 (Dharaghosha) ; ibid., p. 122, Pl. XV. 4 (Rudradasa) ; and ibid. , Pl. XV. 1 (Sivadasa).
4. Ibid., p. lxxxiii.

Now, the word '*Mahādeva*' as it appears in the above legends is used in the same position and in the same sense in all the four cases, with the only difference that the proper name between *rañña* and *Odumbarisa* is missing in the fourth case. '*Mahādeva*' as it is used *before* the royal title in all the four cases, is apparently meant for a royal epithet and refers to the *god* Mahādeva (not an Audumbara chief), indicating 'Māhādeva', i.e. 'a devotee of god Mahādeva'. The legend thus signifies '[Coin*] of the king so-and-so ,the Audumbari, the devotee of god Mahādeva'. The existence of a fourth Audumbara ruler called Mahādeva is not, therefore, established by the copper coins under discussion, which are however Audumbara issues, no doubt but without the names of their strikers. The identification of Mahādeva of the silver coins as an Audumbara chief, therefore, also rests on uncertain grounds[1]

Secondly, as to the typological inter-connection, it may be pointed out that the silver coins of Mahādeva are more closely allied with those of Vaimaki Rudravarman than with the copper or the silver pieces of the Audumbaras. For, while the copper coins of the Audumbaras depict only the forepart of an elephant on the obverse and the trident on the reverse, those of Mahādeva (of the silver issues) bear the full figure of an elephant along with the trident on the same side, just as is seen on the silver coin of Vaimaki Rudravarman. On the other hand, the silver piece of Dharaghosha bears entirely different divices; a standing male figure labelled as 'Viśpamitra' (i.e. Viśvāmitra) on the obverse, and a tree-in-railing (on the right) and a trident-battleaxe (on the left) on the reverse.

Moreover, while Dharaghosha's silver and copper issues bear the same legend both on the obverse (in Brāhmī) and on the reverse (in Kharoshṭhī), the silver pieces of Mahādeva have entirely different legend from that on the copper coins of the so-called Mahādeva. It is also significant that the tribal name and the tree (*Udambara* or the fig tree) which invariably occurs on all coins definitely attributable to the Audumbaras are conspicuously absent on the silver issues of Mahādeva.

1. This view of ours has already been incorporated in the D. Litt. thesis " Indigenous States of Northern India " : c. 200 B. C. to 320 A. D."), submitted to the University of Calcutta in 1962, as well as in a paper entitled "The Attribution of the Mahadeva Coins " read at the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists held in New Delhi in January 1964, see *Proc. XXVI Cong. Int. Orientalists*, p. 112 (List of Papers). Ajay Mitra Shastri also expresses practically a similar view in *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 158-59 (see also *infra*, p. 65, n. 2).

Thirdly, as to the similarity between the silver pieces of Mahādeva and that of Audumbara Dharaghosha, the same (if not greater) affinity may be noticed between those of Mahādeva and of Vaimaki Rudravarman. In fact, a general similarity of the sort can be observed in all the silver pieces of the period, which were issued in imitation of the Indo-Greek silver coins, by some of the Punjab tribes.

Thus, in every respect the silver pieces of Mahādeva are more akin to that of Vaimaki Rudravarman than to those of the Audumbaras. And, if the absence of the tribal name does not stand in the way of attributing them to the Audumbaras, it can not also preclude us from assigning them to the Vaimakis. Therefore, it appears to be more logical to attribute the silver coins of Mahādeva to the Vaimakis than to the Audumbaras.

There is some difference of opinion with regard to the expression *bhagavata* in the legend. S.K. Chakrabortty has pointed out that the word *bhagavata* may apply, as usual, to a god and that the title *rājarāja* ('king of kings') may be applied to a god rather than to a petty chief of a small principality. On the analogy of the 'Brahmaṇyadeva' coins of the Yaudheyas and the 'Chhatreśvara' pieces of the Kuṇindas, he takes the legend on the silver coins as referring to the god Mahādeva, and not to a ruler of that name, interpreting it as 'in the name of the Almighty Mahādeva, the king of kings'.[1] Allan, however, reads the legend as *Bhāgavata-Mahādevasya,* 'Mahādeva, the worshipper of Bhagavat', thus taking Mahādeva as the name of a ruler who was a devottee of Bhagavat or Vishṇu.[2] The interpretation of Chakrabortty, however, seems to us to be more plausible. It may here be noted that D.C. Sircar also takes 'Mahādeva' to be the name of the god (*bhagavata*) and sanskritizes the legend as *Bhagavato Mahāhdevasya rājarājasya.*[3]

With these silver coins may probably be associated two bronze coins having on the obverse a male figure holding a trident-battleaxe and the

1. *Num. Suppl.*, XLVI, p. 73.
2. Ajay Mitra Shastri, while differing with Allan who holds Mahadeva to be an Audumbara chief, agrees with him in taking the word *Mahavdeva* as the name of a ruler who was a *bhagavata,* meaning 'a devotee of Bhagavat, i. e. Vishnu' : *JNSI,* XXVII, pp. 88-89. His reading of the word *bhagavata* is not, however, beyond doubt, since the letter *bh* does not show any *a-matra* on the coin.
3. *Age of Impirial Unity,* p. 161, n. 4.

Brāhmī legend *Bhagavata Mahādevasa*, and on the reverse a peculiar balance-like symbol.[1] The male figure, depicted as holding a trident-battleaxe, an attribute of Śiva or Mahādeva appears to represent the god himself in allusion to the issuer's name. The combination of the epithet and the name 'Bhagavata' and 'Mahādeva', as well as the trident-battleaxe held by the deity may connect these coins with the silver pieces of *Bhagavata Mahādeva*.[2] If so, we may hold that the Vaimakis (like their neighbours, the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas) were worshippers of Śiva or Mahādeva, in whose name some of their coins were issued.

The Vaimakis thus seem to have issued at least four series of coins:

1. Square copper coins referring to their *janapada*.
2. Round silver issues bearing the name of their chief Rudravarman who is called *rājan* and *Vaimaki*.
3. Round silver coins with the name of their tutelary deity Mahādeva, entitled *rājarāja*.
4. Round copper pieces also with the name of their god Mahādeva.

Of these, the *janapada* issues which are of copper, square in shape, and bear Brāhmī legend alone do not appear to have any foreign influence on them and may therefore be dated earlier than the round silver coin of Rudravarman, betraying distinct foreign influence in its shape, fabric, metal, weight-standard as well as in its use of the Kharoshṭhī script. The coinage issued with the name of the god Mahādeva seems to be the latest of the Vaimaki issues, since the silver coins have for Mahādeva the title *rājarāja* ('king of kings'), in imitation of the imperial style of the Indo-Scythian rulers. The silver pieces, both of Rudravarman and of Mahādeva, being similar in style and fabric to the silver issues of Audumbara Dharaghosha, may be assigned to the same period, i.e. the second half of the first century B.C., while the *janapada* coins, being somewhat earlier in date may be placed in the first half of that century.[3]

The Vaimakis, therefore, appear to be an ancient people of the north-eastern Punjab, who acquired political power about the beginning of the first century B.C. and established a tribal *janapada* in the vicinity of the Audumbara territory, like the Rājanya and the Trigarta *janapadas*. Their chiefs were entitled *rājan* like those of the Audumbaras, Kulūtas

1. *JRAS*, 1900, p. 112, Fig. 12. on the Plate.
2. Cf. ibid., pp. 112-113.
3. For Dharaghosha's date see *BMCAI*, p. lxxxv. Allan places the *janapada* coin in the first century B.C., ibid., p cliv.

and Kuṇindas, and Rudravarman who was one such Vaimaki chief appears to have been a contemporary of Audumbara Dharaghosha. At a later stage, probably during the critical period of the Indo-Scythian incursions, the Vaimakis seem to have dedicated their state to their presiding deity Mahādeva, in the same way as their neighbours, the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas, dedicated their states to their respective national gods 'Chhatreśvara' and 'Brahmaṇyadeva'. Their coins of a later date are not known; apparently they soon lost their political independence, even though they might have survived as a people.

SEALS AND COINS ON THE GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF AYODHYA KINGS

KIRAN KUMAR THAPLYAL

[PL XII]

Provenance, which is responsible for such labels as 'Ayodhya', 'Kausambi', 'Avanti', 'Mathura', 'Eraṇ' etc, has been an important factor in the classification of ancient Indian coins. Other considerations for a similar purpose are symbols—which are sometimes very distinctive as the three symbols on the Pañchāla coins—fabric, weight, palaeography and, to a lesser extent, name-endings. Taken singly, these criteria might prove inconclusive but when considered together, a picture, though often imperfect, emerges from them. These considerations and limitations of numismatics are, to a great extent, applicable to the glyptics as well.

The present paper is meant to bring together the evidence from sealings found at Rājaghāta (Varanasi) and now deposited in municipal Museum, Allahabad and Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi[1] and the coins that are attributed to Ayodhya to show that :

(i) the persons mentioned on the sealing may be the kings belonging to 'Ayodhya' series known from coins,

(ii) two of them may be identified with the homonymous rulers known from coins,

(iii) the rest of the names may be added as new kings to the list of kings already known and,

(iv) a probable genealogical and chronological order of succession for them could be established.

The sealings may first be described as below :

1. Bull standing to left, facing trident-battle-axe within railing in front. Legend : *Bhavasena-putrasya* above the figure of the bull

1. With the kind courtasy of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Allahabad Museum, and the Archaeological Survey of India.

in characters of first or second century A.D. and below the bull : *Vishṇumitrasya*[1] **(PL. XII. 1).**

2. Female figure with prominent breasts and hips, and with hands on hips. Legend, on the right side of the figure and to be read clock-wise in characters of *circa* first or second century A. D., *Vishṇumitra pu (trasya)* and on left of the figure, to be read anti-clock-wise, *Sa(ṁ) ghamit(r)as(y)a*[2] **(PL. XII. 2).**

3. A fine figure of a bull standing, facing left. A standard or a *triśūla* in front of the bull. Below the head of the bull is a taurine symbol in a *U*-shaped design; Legend, above the bull, in the characters of *circa* first or second century *A*.D., *Vijaya-mitrasya*[3] **(PL. XII. 3).**

4. Bull standing, facing left with a trident battle-axe in front as on the sealing of Vishṇumitra. The prongs of the trident in this case are outcurved and not vertical as on that of the latter. Behind the bull is a symbol—perhaps *yūpa* within railing. The upper part of the symbol is out of flan.

The two-line legend above and below the bull reads :

(i) *V (i) jayamitra-putrasya*;

(ii) *Śivamitrasya*[4] **(PL. XII. 4).**

5. Humped bull standing to left with a trident in front; legend, above the bull in characters of *circa* first or second century A.D., *Phalgunimitrasya*[5] **(PL. XII. 5).**

All but one of these five sealings bear a standing bull and a symbol which is trident-battle axe in the case of Vishṇumitra and Śivamitra, a trident in the case of Phalgunimitra and possibly the same on that of Vijayamitra. The palaeography or the inscriptions on these sealings is more or less similar. In the case of Saṁghamitra the device is different—a standing female figure instead of the bull; but the legend in this case

1. In the collection of Bharat Kala Bhawan.
2. The first letter apparently gives the appearance of *a*. One is tempted to read *aya* instead of *Sa(ṁ)gha*. Ayumitra of Aryamitra-legend variously read as *Ayumitasa* (Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 150) and *Ayyamitasa* (Allan, *BMCAI*, p. 137) is known from the Ayodhya series of coins.
3. Allahabad Museum no. 305.
4. In the Bharat Kala Bhawan collection.
5. Bharat Kala Bhawan no. 6028.

clearly states that he was the son of Vishṇumitra whom we may identify with the homonymous ruler and son of Bhavasena (vide, sealing no. 1). Like-wise, we may identify Vijayamitra of sealing no. 3 with Vijayamitra, father of Śivamitra of sealing no. 4. All these persons may, therefore, be ascribed to one and the same family.

On the basis of the father's name on these sealings, we have two sets of genealogies :

A. (i) Bhavasena
(ii) Vishṇumitra
(iii) Saṁghamitra

B. (i) Vijayamitra
(ii) Śivamitra

Of these, Vijayamitra[1] and Saṁghamitra[2] are known from 'Ayodhya'[3] series of coins. The device on the sealing of Vijayamitra is almost identical with that on the coins of the ruler in the above mentioned series. The sealing of Saṁghamitra has a standing female figure, which is quite different from the device that occurs on the coins of the homonymous ruler of the same series. The latter bear the bull symbol which is quite common on the coins of Ayodhya rulers. But the standing female figure is found on the coins of certain other rulers of Ayodhya.[4] It would not therefore be wrong to identify Vijayamitra and Saṁghamitra of the sealings with homonymous rulers known from coins of Ayodhya series. Obviously, Śivamitra,son of the former, and Bhavasena and Vishṇumitra, respectively, grand-father and father of the latter, belonged to the same family. The *sena*-ending name in the midst of *mitra*-ending names should not pose any problem. The Ayodhya series of coins itself has a *sena*-ending name, Kumudasena.[5]

1. For Vijayamitra's coins see Allan, *BMCAI*, pp. 138-39, pl. XVII, no. 22; Ibid, pl. XVIII, nos. 1, 4 etc; Smith, *IMC*, p. 151, nos. 29 to 36 (Bull obv. type).
2. For Samghamitra's coins see *BMCAI*, p. 138, pl. XVII, no. 21.
3. We may, however, note that the symbol in front of the bull on the coins of the Ayodhya rulers seems to be *trisula-parasu*; see *BMCAI*, pl. XVII, 22, rather than a standard as suggested by Allan (*BMCAI*, p. 138). The *parasu* is very distinct. Similarly, the legend, at least on the coin. illustrated on pl. XVII, 22, of *BMC, AI* is *Vijayamitras(y)a* and not *Vijayamitasa* as read by Allan (Ibid). The sign *r* is quite clear on the plate. However, on pl. XVIII, 4, it is *Vijayamitasa.*
4. On the coins of Vayudeva (*BMCAI*, p. 131, pl. XVII, 8), Visakhadeva (Ibid, p. 131, pl. XVI, 14) and Dhanadeva (Ibid, p. 133, pl. XVI, no. 17).
5. *BMCAI*, p. 137.

The relation of Phalgunimitra with any other ruler, either as father or son, is not mentioned; but the device, palaeography and name-ending suggest that he belonged to the same ruling family.

Now the problem is—which of the two sets of rulers—(i) Bhavasena Vishṇumitra and Saṁghamitra and (ii) Vijayamitra and Śivamitra—came first and where should we place Phalgunimitra ?

The letter *ma* in *Phalgunimitrasya* is a slight modification of Mauryan type; its upper part is crescent-shaped and not angular (**PL. XII. 5**). The *ya* in *sya* is of the three-pronged variety. The *ma* and *ya* in the case of Vijayamitra sealing, though of a similar type, are characterised by angular strokes (**PL. XII. 3**). In the rest of the sealings *ya* is of the cursive type and *ma* of the three-pronged variety.[1] These two forms viz. the cursive *ya* and the three-pronged *ma* were not in vogue before the first century A.D.; and both the types of *ma*[2] and *ya*[3] continued in the Gupta script and it is interesting that, at least in one case, both the types of *ma* occur on the same coin.[4]

Thus, on palaeographic considerations, Phalgunimitra may be placed as the earliest; and he was followed by Vijayamitra; Śivamitra being the son of the latter would naturally have succeeded him.

The group of kings represented by Bhavasena, his son Vishṇumitra, and the latter's son Saṁghamitra in the same order, should be placed after them. But it is not easy to say whether the latter group followed the former without any intervening king or kings. But it is tempting to suggest that Kumudasena of the Ayodhya coins[5] might be the father of Bhavasena.

Varanasi, for long had been a centre of religious, cultural, educational, economic and political activities, has yielded various types of seals and sealings of kings,[6] government officials,[7] guilds,[8] educational in-

1. Which later on is termed as " Eastern Variety " by scholars because of its being common in eastern region in the period when the other variety (the three-pronged one), labelled as the 'Western Variety' was more common in the western region.
2. Upasak, C. S. " Some Salient Features of Brahmi on Gupta Coins" *JNSI*, XXIII pp. 230-233.
3. Ibid, pp. 333-34.
4. *Bayana Hoard*, 1954, pl. III, no. 14 (the obv. has *ma* as and the reverse as).
5. *BMCAI*, pp. lxxxix and 137, pl. XVII, 17.
6. *JNSI*, vol. XXIII, pp. 411-12.
7. Ibid, pp. 412-13.
8. Ibid, pp, 410-11.

stitutions,[1] religious shrines[2] and private individuals. The finding of seals of a king at a particular place, particularly at such an important one, does not necessarily mean that it was within his kingdom. But when seals belonging not to one but several rulers of Ayodhya have been found at Rājghāta, the possibility of Varanasi being within their kingdom cannot be precluded.

APPENDIX

Below are described some Rājghāta sealings which may have some import in the present context for various reasons such as the *mitra*-ending names, or similarity of device, at least to some extent, and palaeography.

1. An ornamental *nandipada* symbol on railing-type pedestal with a standard-like symbol on either side; Legend below, in characters of *c* first or second century A.D., *Pushyamitrasya* (**PL. XII. 6**)

Elaborate *nandipada* in a frame-work is the device on the coins of some Ayodhya rulers viz. Kumudasena,[4] Ajavarma[5] and Saṁghamitra.[6]

2. Stylized bull to left with vase-and-foliage on either side. Below, legend, in characters of *c.* first or second century A. D., *Jeshṭhamitrasya* (**PL. XII. 7**)

A king Jyeshṭhamitra is known from Kausambi coins. Although the bull device is common to our sealing as well as some of the coins of this ruler, the accessory symbols differ. Further the legend on the sealing is in Sanskrit but on the coin in Prākṛit.[8] Neither this complete device nor this name are known from Ayodhya series of coins.

3. Figure of bull to left with *yūpa* in front and a hill symbol below the face of the bull. Behind the bull is a spear. Legend, in *c.* first or

1. Ibid, pp. 409-10 ; vol. XX, p. 195 ff.
2. Ibid, XXVIII, pp. 209-10 ; vol. XIX, pp. 168-69.
3. Even the find spots of the coins of kings as 'Ayodhya Kings' clearly show that their rule was not confined to Ayodhya and its suburbs alone but extended to a wider area (*BMCAI*, p. XXXVII).
4. *BMCAI*, p. 137, pl. XVII, 17 ; *IMC*, p. 150, pl. XIX, 15.
5. *IMC*, p. 150, pl. XIX, 16.
6. *BMCAI*, p. 138, pl. XVII, 21.
7. *BMCAI*, pp. xcvi and 154, pl. XX, no. 9.
8. It is *Jethamitasa*, *BMCAI*, p. 154, pl. XX, 7-9.

second century A.D. characters above the bull figure, *Dhanadevasya* and below *r* (*a*) *j* (*o*)[1] (PL. XII. 8)

A Dhanadeva is known from the Kausambi coins[2] and another from the Ayodhya series.[3] Both rulers have bull on the obverse but the hill symbol which occurs on the sealings is to be noticed on Kausambi coins but not on those of Ayodhaya. The device thus favours the identification of the ruler on the sealing with the homonymous ruler of Kausambi. This is also supported by the palaeography as well as linguistic considerations.[4] Moreover the coins of Kausambi sometimes bear the title *rājā* (*rājño*)[5] which also is the case in our sealing. The sealings of Dhanadeva were found in the largest number and are housed in various museums.

1. See also *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 187-88. Perhaps the legend was *rajno*.
2. *BMCAI*, p. 153, pl. XXII, no. 12 ; Allan places this king somewhere in early centuries A. D. and considers his coins as marking the last phase of Kausambi coinage (Ibid, p. xcvii).
3. *BMCAI*, p. xcvii, pl. ix, nos. 8 and 9.
4. The legend (*Dhanadevasya*) in this case is in Sanskrit whereas on Ayodhya coins it is in Prakrit. The palaeography of Kausambi coins seems to be nearer to the present sealing.
5. *BMCAI*, p. 153.

FRESH LIGHT ON THE SILVER PORTRAIT COIN OF VASISHTHIPUTRA SATAKARNI

S. RAMAYYA

[**PL. II**]

The silver portrait coins of the later Sātavāhana emperors, specially those of Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi have now assumed enormous importance from numismatic, linguistic, palaeographical and historical angles.

At present we know only of three silver portrait coins of King Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇī. One is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and it was published by Altekar.[1] Dinkar Rao of Hyderabad has published a second coin.[2] These coins are not in a good condition and have given rise to controversy in the reading and interpretation of the legends.

The third coin, very well preserved, is in my collection. I published this in 1965[3] and I had commented on the peculiarity of the script and language on the reverse and elaborated on the Tamil word 'Thiru' found there.

D.C. Sircar, the eminent epigraphist and historian, wrote an exhaustive and scholarly article[4] after having taken, by special processes, a clear reading of the inscriptions on Rao's coin from Hyderabad.

When I wrote in 1965, I was not aware of this article. Nagaswamy, the Director of Archaeology, Madras State, has read on the reverse of this coin a Tamil inscription in Brāhmī letters of the 2nd century A. D.[5] In my latest article on the subject,[6] I have commented on Nagaswamy's readings and have suggested a few changes.

1. *JNSI*, XI, Pt. I, pp. 59-63.
2. *JNSI*, XXI, Pt. I, pp. 9-12.
3. *JNSI*, XXVII, Pt. I, pp. 32-35.
4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXV Pt. IV, No. 34, p. 247 (1964).
5. *Sunday Standard*, Madras, Dated 26.3.1967.
. *Sunday Standard*, Madras, Dated 10.12.1967.

I describe below my coin and give the latest readings :—

Metal, silver; size, .65 inches diameter; weight, 28 grains.

Obv. :

Symbols : Bust of the King to the right; frizzled hair tied by a diadem with a crest jewel above centre of forehead; earring with long pendants reaching shoulder.

Legend : 15 letters; script 2nd century A.D. Brāhmī; language : Prākṛit. It is in two parts; right part beginning from XII and reading '*Ra ño Va si ti pu tha sa*'. Left part from VIII reading '*Si ri Sā tha ka ṇi sa*'.

Rev. :

Symbols : An Ujjainī symbol with crescent at the top; to the right six arched hill with crescent at the top; between the two crescents a circular figure with rays; below a wavy line.

Legend : 20 letters; language : Tamil; script 2nd century A.D. Tamil-Brāhmī; beginning from XII read : '*A ra cha, na ku, V ā chi ṭ ti ma ka na ku, Thiru, Cha ta, ka ni ku*'.

(PL. II. 15)

Meaning in English : (Coin) of the King, Vāsitti's son, Sri Sātakarṇī's.

The main conclusion of Sircar on the language of the inscription is that it is old Telugu of the early Christian era somewhat Prākṛitised. It was then closely allied to Tamil. The difficulties in this line of approach are many.

The general idea at present, I think, is that in the Āndhra area, in ancient days, Prākṛit was used by the upper classes with probably some Sanskrit also, while the spoken language of the people must have been some Dravidian dialect, proto-Telugu or whatever we call it. There appears to have been no literature in this old Telugu; at least nothing has survived to-day; nor have we come across any inscription of this vernacular excepting this coin legend. Telugu proper seems to evolve

slowly over the centuries and the earliest inscription in that tongue is of the 7th century A.D. Telugu literature is also stated to have started only about the 10th century A.D.[1]

From the linguistic point of view it appears that the Telugu language is a member of Central Dravidian branch of Proto-Dravidian while Tamil stems from Proto-South Dravidian.[2] That Tamil developed very early into a literary language even in the pre-Christian centuries with its famous grammar, the great 'Tholkappiyam' and, the magnificent Sangam literature is now widely known.

In this background one cannot get away from the brilliant reading of the reverse legend on the coin by Nagaswamy as Tamil in Brāhmī script.

Southern Expansion Of The Satavahana Empire

The need for the later Sātavāhana emperors to issue coins with Tamil legends on one side can be explained satisfactorily. Historians earlier suspected from '*Maṇimekalai*' and other Tamil classics that by the 2nd century A.D. the Sātavāhanas had been pushing towards Kāñchī and further South ousting the early Cholas from that area. Recent excavations in the Kāñchī Kamakoti Mutt support this hypothesis. I have explained this aspect in detail in my article on the Pallava coins.[3] The Pallava feudatories of the Sātavāhana emperors appear to have occupied Kāñchī by 150 A.D., even in the days of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi, probably the brother of our Sātakarṇi, with a view to capture the lucrative Roman trade of the South to replenish the emperor's treasury. The Tamil word 'Thiru' is suspected in Pulumāvi's silver coin.[4] In the silver coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi the last great emperor, towards the end of the 2nd century A.D., the Tamil word 'Arachan' is highly likely, and instead of 'Thiru' there is a 'Hiru'. These coins were apparently intended for both the Prākṛit and Tamil peoples of the epmire.

Tamil-Brahmi Script

The most important thing in the coin is the Tamil-Brāhmī script on the reverse. This is a fascinating subject which has emerged into the

1. *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts* Sivaramamurthy, C., p. 54.
2. Kamil Zvelebil's Paper ' Proto-South Dravidan etc. ' *II International Tamil Conference,* Madras 1968., p. 5 quoting Emeneuu and Krishna Murthi.
3. *JNSI*, XXXIX, P. I, pp. 22-32.
4. *JNSI*, XIV, P. I, pp. 1-3.

limelight in recent years. Apart from early pioneers in this field, Mahadevan has devoted himself to this study in the last few years. His 'Corpus' of Tamil Cave inscriptions[1] is an earnest and studious attempt in deciphering and interpreting these inscriptions. One may not entirely agree with his readings and I have suggested a new approach to the subject.[2] Most of these inscriptions appear in natural rock caves round Madura. A number are found as graffiti on pot-sherds and now in coins also we trace this script. They seem to be allied to the Aśokan Brāhmī and the Bhattiprolu script and have been applied to the Tamil language from very early days. I have argued in my articles how it is not possible to derive it from the Aśokan Brāhmī. Some of the earlier Tamil Cave inscriptions look like a syllabary unlike Aśokan Brāhmī which is an alphabet. In my view Aśokan and Tamil Brāhmī look like having been borrowed from West Asian Semitic syllabaries. The script in the coins is more important since they can be dated fairly accurately. For example our present Sātavāhana coin can be safely assigned to about 150 A.D. and from it we can deduce how Tamil Brāhmī script looked about that time. In large part Tamil Brāhmī and Aśokan agree indicating their common origin; but Tamil has a few more letters for the additional phonemes of the language while it has no separate letters for hard and some soft consonants. In the earlier days it lacked signs for sibilants and aspirate. With these general observations I shall proceed to comment on the peculiar letters in the inscription.

Palaeography

The first question is how to read the letter ' '. Sircar reads it as '*Ha*' while Nagaswamy reads it as '*Cha*'. I also read it as '*Ha*' elsewhere in my articles. Now I agree with Nagaswamy though for slightly different reasons. The '*Cha*' of Mauryan Bhattiprolu and early Tamil Cave Brāhmī script look alike ' '. In some Sātavāhana coins however from the 1st century B.C. a symbol like the one we are discussing starts appearing and is used as the first letter followed by

1. Nagaswamy R., (edited) *Seminar on Inscriptions* 1966,
2. *Weekly Mail Magazine*, Madras : My 3 articles on origin and growth of writing and Tamil Brahmi dated 16-3-68, 23.3.68 ahd 30.3.68., Respectively.

syllables like *'Taka'* or *'Takanisa'* etc. These words are read as *'Hathaka'* or *'Hathakanisa'* and are taken to be equivalent to *'Sataka'* or *'Satakanisa'* as *'Ha'* and *'Sa'* are interchangeable in Prākṛit. Since the letter *'Ha'* looks entirely different with a loop to the right, it seems more correct to take our symbol as *'Cha'* and not *'Ha'*. In the Pallava 'Mayidavolu' and 'Brahatpalayam' grants of about 4th century A.D.[1] similar symbols are taken as *'Cha'* or *'Sa'*. Later it develops into the Tamil ' ' in the Chola days. Nagaswamy's reading of *'Arahan'* and *'Vāchiṭṭi'* as *'Arachan'* and *'Vāchiṭṭi'* seems to be justified.

The discovery of the 'pulli' in *'ṭ'* in *'Vāchiṭṭi'* and its interpretation is worthy of Sircar's scholarship and insight. The 'pulli' is a dot on or in a consonant letter which makes it a pure consonant without the addition of the vowel 'a'. If a dot is placed on ' ' it becomes ' ' (*k̖*) and not *'ka'*. In Sanskrit this was done by a slanting stroke called a *'Virāma'*. With Tamil as the language here it gives a firm lower date for Tholkappiyam which prescribes a 'pulli' for pure consonants. Tholkappiyam cannot be later than the 2nd century A.D. is now established.

A somewhat controversial point is about the reading of the letter *'ma'* as short or long. The letter itself is the typical *'Ma'* ' ' of the Tamil Cave inscriptions. The slight horizontal projection to the right has lead Sircar to read it as *'Maakan'* and explain it as the pronunciation for *'Makan'* in those days. *'Makan'*, *'Makal'* and *'Makkal'* are found in plenty in early Tamil literature meaning son, daughter and children respectively; but we are not aware of a *'Maakan'* meaning son. It appears to be the simple Tamil word *'Makan'* and nothing else. Nagaswamy's reading it with the Bhattiprolu technique is also unnecessary as it may lead to other difficulties. He has applied this principle only to this letter. If it is applied to the previous letter, it will read only as *'Va'* while he has read it as *'Vaa'*. Without invoking the mysterious Bhattiprolu script, we can, I think solve this by simpler methods. Epigraphists can probably show any number of examples of similar letters which can read both ways. Apart from this in the early centuries medials,

1. *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts*, pp. 168-169.

long and short of '*a*' '*e*' '*u*' etc. were rather fluid. The same medial is put differently in different inscriptions even in the same age and different signs are read more or alike. These signs have to be read to suit the context and the reading here as '*Makan*' and not '*Maakan*' seems to be correct. Clear vowel vocalisation gets perfected only slowly after centuries of evolution of writing.

Case Endings in Tamil Language

The most controversial and troublesome letter is the '*ku*' in '*Arachanku*' and '*Makanku*' and '*Chātakarniku*'. Sircar and Nagaswamy have read it as '*Sha*'. '*Sha*' not being normally a Tamil letter its presence in a Tamil inscription is highly disturbing. Even if it was pronounced as '*Sa*' or with some other allied intonation it cannot mean anything at the end of Tamil words '*Arachan*' and '*Makan*'. In Prakrit '*Sātakanisa*' stands for '*Sātakarṇisya*' of Sanskrit, the genitive 6th case, indicating 'belonging to a person'. '*Adhu*' is prescribed in Tholkappiyam as the 6th case. '*Ku*' normally indicates dative 4th case. Why has it been substituted for *Adhu*' the genitive ending required here ? Tholkappiyar, the great Tamil grammarian says that 'ku' is to be added to high caste nouns. But the grammarian it appears has noted how the people use the morphemes of the case indiscriminately. I quote from page 145 of Ilakuvanar's book 'Tamil Language'.[1]

"Tholkappiyar has allotted one chapter to deal with such changes. He holds that whatever case sign is used the context determines the case. The language reached a stage in which the cases denote categories of meaning, not categories of form, as in Latin and English. The second case '*i*' gives the sense of dative—the fourth case; the dative case sign '*Ku*' denotes the sense of second, third, fifth and sixth cases and the fifth case sign '*in*' is used in the sense of the third case". It appears that the Mint Master of the Sātavāhanas was a knowledgeable person and applied the grammatical rules since the coin was issued by a great Emperor.

It will now be clear how this historical coin is very important from various angles and how the new readings by various scholars are pushing the frontiers of our knowledge further and further.

1. *Saiva Siddhanta*, Madras., 1961.

THE SIMHAVAHINI ON THE GUPTA COINS

SHIVE NANDAN MISRA

The earliest known numismatic depiction of a Siṁhavāhinī Devī is on the obverse of coin type of Azes I. Whitehead[1] describes her thus; "Goddess Lakshmī, standing to front with flower in raised right hand"; while according to Gardner she is "a female deity, facing, clad in himation, holds in raised right hand flower, stands on lotus, besides lion (?) (*Lakshmī* ?)[2] or *Pārvatī*.[3] Coomaraswami[4] identifies her with Lakshmī, but J.N. Banerjea[5] identifies her with Durgā.

On the reverse of a coin type of Huvishka we find goddess Nana riding a lion. She holds a club in her right hand.[6] On the reverse of a coin type of a later Kushāṇa king Kaneshko (probably Kanishka III) we find a goddess seated on a lion, holding a noose in the right hand and a sceptre in the left[7] hand. Her name is not given or is obliterated.

Of the Gupta coin types, Siṁhavāhinī Devī is depicted on the reverse of Chandragupta-Kumāradevī Type of Chandragupta I, the Lion-Slayer Type of Chandragupta II, and the Lion-Slayer type of Kumāragupta I. On the Chandragupta-Kumāradevi Type, she is holding a noose in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand. Her feet rest on a circular object which, according to Allan is a lotus flower, while according to Altekar, is an embroidered carpet. On the Lion-Slayer type of Chandragupta II, her right hand is either outstretched, opened out, empty or is holding a noose. The left hand is either

1. Whitehead, R. B., *Punjab Museum Catalogue of Coins*, Vol. I, P. 129, No. 30 ; Pl. XII, No. 308.
2. Gardner, P., *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of India*, p. 85, Pl. XIX.
3. ibid, p. LIX.
4. Coomaraswamy, A., *Early Indian Iconography* (Eastern Art Vol. I, p. 178).
5. Banerjea, J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography* (I Edn.) P. 134-35.
6. Altekar, A. S., *Corpus of Indian Coins*. Vol. IV ' Coninage of the Gupta Empire, P. 31, 37.
7. ibid, p. 31, 37.

holding a lotus or a noose or is stretched. On the Lion-Slayer type of Kumāragupta I, her right hand is either outstretched, empty, or is scattering coins, or is holding an indistinct object or noose or a garland. The left hand is either holding a lotus, or is resting on her waist.

Allan[1] has identified this female deity as "Lakshmī or Ambikā". According to Altekar[2] the deity on the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type is partly Durgā and partly a Kushāṇa deity, being similar to the deity on the reverse of the coin type of Kaneshko. However, he suggests that though the deity on the Lion-Slayer type of Chandragupta II appears to be Durgā, "the intention of representing her as Lakshmī cannot altogether be excluded."[3] R. K. Mookerjee[4] and J.N. Banerjea[5] have identified her with Durgā.

Bhattacharya drew our attention to the reference of Siṁhavāhinī Lakshmī by Hemādri. However, he observed "no image of this description has yet come down to us."[6] Later on, R. K. Dikshit[7] drew our attention to three icons from Khajuraho—two depicting "Siṁhavāhinī Gaja Lakshmī" and the third depicting Lakshmī seated in the lap of 'Vishṇu'. The left leg of Lakshmī is resting on a lion. Dikshit has very convincingly concluded that the deity on the above mentioned Gupta coins is "Siṁhavāhinī-Lakshmī."[8] D. N. Shukla,[9] without citing any authority, has named this deity as 'Śaivī Lakshmī', thus distinguishing her from 'Vaishṇavī Lakshmī'.

As we have seen earlier, the Simhavāhinī Devī on the above Gupta coins is only two armed. In most cases, she is holding a noose in one of her hands. Cornucopiae is to be seen only on the Chandragupta and Kumāradevī type, and a lotus is frequently seen in her other hand. Usually, noose and lion are associated with Durgā and lotus with

1. Allan, J., *Catalogue of Gupta Coins in British Museum*, pp. LXXII—III; LXXXIII.
2. Altekar, A. S., op. cit. p. 28.
3. Ibid, p. 106.
4. Mookerjee, R. K., *The Gupta Empire*, (III Edn.) pp. 33
5. Banerjea, J. N., op. cit. p. 135.
6. Bhattacharya, B. C., *Indian Images*, Pt. I, p. 37, cf. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* XXIII Session, 3.
7. Dikshit, R. K., Simhavahini Lakshmi, *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 102-104.
8. Ibid.
9. Shukla, D. N., *Hindu Canons of Iconography and Painting*, p. 311.

Lakshmī.[1] However, there is a definite reference in the *Devyopanishada*[2] (also called '*Devyatharvaśirsha*') associating noose with Mahālakshmī. Here the goddess is not Vaishṇavī Mahālakshmī but Ādyāśakti Mahālakshmī, for she introduces herself to the inquisitive Devās as :

"अहं ब्रह्स्वरुपिणी अहं रुद्रभिर्वसुभिश्वरामि ।[3]
अहमिन्द्रग्नी अहमश्विनावुभौ । अहं सोम त्वष्टारं पूषणं
भगं दधामि । अहं विष्णुमुरुक्रमं ब्रह्मणमुत प्रजापति दधामि ।"[4]

Here, she is designated as 'Mahālakshmī' as is evident from the Devi-Gāyatrī given here :

"महा लक्ष्मीश्च विद्महे सर्व सिद्धिश्चधीमहि तन्नो देवी प्रचोदयात्" [5]

or

"महालक्ष्म्यै च विद्महे सर्वशक्त्यै च धीमहि तन्नो देवी प्रचोदयात्" [6]

Her form is thus described;

"हृत्पुण्डरीक मध्यस्थां प्रातःसूर्य समप्रभां ।
पाशाङ्कुश धरा सौम्यां वरदामय हस्तकाम् ।
त्रिनेत्रं रक्तवसनां मत्तकामदुघां भजे" [7]

Here the goddess is to be meditated as seated on the Hṛidayapadma, she is four armed, having a noose (pāśa) and an aṅkuśa in her two hands while the other two hands are in Varada/Abhaya Mudrās. This evidence establishes that the noose (Pāśa) is one of the Āyudhas of Ādyāśakti Mahālakshmī.

As regards the lion and the lotus, a very clear and decisive evidence is forthcoming from the 'Ādyādi Śrī Mahālakshmī Hṛidaya Māhāmantra' given in the 'Atharvaṇarahasya'.[8] It is a long '*stotra*' (comprising

1. सरसिजनिलये सरोज हस्ते पद्मानने पद्मऊरु पद्माक्षि पदम संभवे लक्ष्मीसूक्त षट-सूक्तानि, मास्टर मणिमालयाः १६४
पृ: ९, १० सख्यकां मणिः वाराणसी
2. *The Sakta Upanishadas*, Ed. by P. A. Mahadeva Sastri, Madras 1950, p. 53-60.
3. दुर्गासप्तशती, गीताप्रेस, सं २०१२, षष्ठ संस्करणः सचित्र हिन्दी अनुवाद सहित पृ: ४४-५२
4. *Devyopanishad* or *Devyatharvasirsha*, Sloka 5 & 6.
5. Ibid., Sloke 12 (*The Sakta Upanishadas*).
6. *Devyatharvasirha*, 'S'loka 12.
7. Ibid, Sloka 21.
8. शाक्त-प्रमोद, पृष्ठ ३६-६१ वेंकटेश्वर प्रेस, बम्बई १९५१
बृहत् स्तोत्ररत्नाकर, संपादक माधवप्रसाद व्यास,
गायघाट, वाराणसी, सन् १९५७, पृ० १४२-५६

106 *ślokas*) invoking Mahālakshmī, the goddess of wealth and prosperity. The Mūla-mantra is :

"ॐ श्रीं ह्रीं ऐं महालक्ष्म्यै कमलधारिण्यै सिंहवाहिन्यै स्वाहा"[1]

Here the goddess Mahālakshmī is depicted as riding on a lion but having lotus in her hand or hands. The 'Nārāyaṇa Hṛidayam' given in the Uttarbhāga of the 'Atharvaṇarahasya' asserts that the above mentioned 'Lakshmīhṛidaya' should never be recited without first reciting the 'Nārāyaṇahṛidaya' lest the goddess become angry.[2]

Therefore, here we find the depiction of Vaishṇavī Mahālakshmī riding on a lion and holding lotus in her hand. The goddess appears to be two armed. This description ideally agrees with the depictions on the above mentioned Gupta coins except for the noose in one of the hands of the latter. As we have seen earlier that the noose is one of the Āyudhas of the four armed Ādyāśakti Mahālakshmī, it appears that the Simhavāhinī Devī on the Gupta coins is a synthesis of these two deities—Vaishṇavī Mahālakshmī and Ādyāśakti Mahālakshmī, but conceived primarily as Vaishṇavī Mahālakshmī. This alone can explain her appearance on the coins of Parambhāgavata Chandragupta II, as also the fact that she is scattering coins by one of her hands on the Lion-slayer type of Kumāragupta I.

1. Ibid.
2. बृहत्स्तोत्ररत्नाकर, संपादक माधव प्रसाद व्यास,
वाराणसी, सन् १९५७, पृ० ९४

ON A BAYANA-HOARD COIN OF CHHATRA TYPE BEARING THE LEGEND KRAMĀDITYA

NISAR AHMAD

In the Bayana hoard only one gold coin of the Chhatra type with the reverse legend Kramāditya was found.[1] Its description is as follows :

Size : 8"; Weight : 130 grains

Obv. : King standing to 1.; r. hand outstretched and offering sacrifice; 1. hand on the hilt of the sword; attendant behind, holding umbrella; Circular legend partly visible : *Vijitavani...*

Rev. : Standing goddess; facing to 1.; r. hand extended, holding a noose; 1. hand hanging down and holding a lotus, symbol on 1.; legend on r. : *Kramādityaḥ*[2]

The obverse does not contain the vertical legend. It is also not found on the type of Chandragupta II[3] and Kumāragupta I[4] who are the only Gupta kings to issue the type. The circular legend is incomplete and does not give the name of the issuer, but as the first part of the legend is clear and starts with *Vijitavanira*, Altekar restores it as *Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ Śri-Skandagupta divam jayati.*[5] on the basis of the complete legend with an identical beginning on the silver coins of Skandagupta,[6] Regarding the reverse legend *Kramāditya*, Altekar observes that "there is ample empty space boefore the letter *Kra* of *Kramāditya*; we can not, therefore, argue that the reverse legend may have been *Vikramāditya* and therefore the issuer may have

1. Altekar, A. S. : *The Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, 1954, pp. ii ff.
2. Ibid, p. 308.
3. Altekar, A. S. : *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, 1957, ff. 127 ff.
4. Ibid, pp. 206-207.
5. Ibid, pp. 257 ff.
6. *Bayana Hoard*, p. 308.

been Chandragupta II".[1] Since the legend on the present coin begins with *Vijitavanira* and the epithet *Kramāditya* occuurring on the reverse was adopted first by Skandagupta,[2] Altekar holds : "It is therefore most probable that the solitary Chhatra type coin of Kramāditya, found in the Bayana hoard, is an issue of Skandagupta, the son and successor of Kumāragupta I".[3]

P.L. Gupta ascribes this piece to Ghatotkachagupta.[4] He supports his attribution on the following grounds :

1. "Among the types issued by Gupta emperors, the coins of the Chhatra type are the rarest. In all probability this type was issued by the kings to commemorate their coronation. As such this coin type must be the earliest issue of its issuers. This is also borne out from the hoard itself, where it is the solitary coin representing its issuer."

2. *Vijitavaniravanipatiḥ* is a well known legend since the time of Kumāragupta I and therefore it "may have equally been used by Ghatotkachagupta, in case he succeeded Kumāragupta I."[6]

3. Skandagupta issued coins in two standards one of 132 and the other of 142 grains. On the lighter wieght coins he mentions his name as Srī *Skandaguptaḥ* and on the heavy-weight standard coins he uses the title *Kramāditya*. The heavy standard coins were issued in the later period of his reign and, therefore, it appears that he may not have taken this epithet in his earlier life.

Altekar writes in his editorial note on Gupta's paper : "As matters stand today, it appears more probable that the Chhatra type coin of Kramāditya of the Bayana hoard is an issue of Skandagupta than of Ghatotkachagupta " because there is no *prima-facie* case to suggest that Ghatotkachagupta also participated in the feud of Skandagupta and Purugupta.[7]

1. *Coinage*, p. 248.
2. Ibid, p. 244.
3. He assigns it to Ghatotkachagupta to support his hypothesis that Ghatotkachagupta preceded Skandaguptas propounded elsewhere (*IHQ*, xxii, p. 318) which, however, has not been accepted by scholars (*IHQ*, xxiii, p. 72)
4. *IHQ*, XXII, p. 318.
5. Ibid, XXIII, p. 72.
6. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 99 ff.
7. Ibid, p. 102.

Altekar contradicts the contention of Gupta that Skandagupta took the epithet *Kramāditya* on his heaviest coins which were issued in the later part of his reign and writes : "Kings used to assume their *birudas* usually at the time of his their coronation; Skandagupta had a number of sensational victories to his credit even before his accession, and it looks improbable that he would have waited a few years for assuming the significant *biruda Kramāditya*. If this *biruda* does not appear on two of his types, the reason may be that the obverse legends on them, which have not been completely read, contained some significant expressions."

The overwhelming number of the coins of the Archer type, which originated in the time of Samudragupta and continued till the end of the dynasty—in the end only this type was issued-indicates it to be a regular type of the Guptas. There is no instance in this regular and popular currency that the personal name of the king is written on its reverse.[1] Even the epithets of Samudragupta, *Apratirātaḥ* and *Parakramaḥ*, which were not so popular as those of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I, do occur on the reverse of this type.[2] These are also written on the coins of Skandagupta's successors.[3] Hence, the occurrence of the personal name on the reverse of the class I of the Archer type of Skandagupta may not be brushed aside. Altekar, to support this view, cites the examples of the Lyrist type of Samudragupta, the Swords-man, the Tiger-slayer and Apratigha types of Kumārgupta I.[4] But it must be admitted at the outset that these are innovative types and, therefore these examples may be applied to King and Lakshmi type of Skandagupta and not to the Archer type.

The coins of the lighter weight of Skandagupta have the circular legend, *jayati mahitalaṁ Skandagupta Sudhanvī*. on their obverse[5] This legend, with the change of the name, also occurs on the coins of Kumāragupta's Archer type, Class III, Vat.[6] On the heaviest coins of

1. *Coinage*, pp. 53 ff. (Samudragupta) ; 91 ff. (Chandragupta II); 167 ff. (Kumaragupta I).
2. Ibid, pp. 53 ff.
3. Ibid, pp. 264 (Ghatotkachagupta); 270-71 (Narasimhagupta); 273-75 (Kumaragupta II and III); 277-78 (Budhagupta); 282 (Vainyagupta).
4. *JNSI*, XIV, p. 102.
5. *Coinage*, p. 242.
6. Ibid, p. 172.

Skandagupta the obverse-circular legend is *Para*[1] or *Parama*[2] *hitakārī rājā jayati divaṁ śri Kramādityaḥ.* This legend does not occur on the coins of the earlier rulers[3] but is used for the first time by Skandagupta himself and adopted by Budhagupta also.[4] Hence it may be supposed that in the beginning the legend of his father Kumāragupta I was continued with the change of the name and the second legend was invented in the later part of his reign.

There is also an inscription of Skandagupta found from Rewa. It is dated in the 141 year of the Gupta Era. It mentions Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I by their epithets *Vikramāditya* and *Mahendrāditya* but Skandagupta has been mentioned by his proper name.[5] Therefore, it may be inferred that Skandagupta till 141+319—20=460—61 A.D had not taken any epithet.

The non-occurrence of the epithet on some of the coins of the Archer type and all the specimens of the King and Lakshmi type of Skandagupta, is explained by Altekar : " the reason may be that the obverse legends on them, which have not been completely read, contain some significant expressions ".[6]

Allan rightly observes[7] that " the inscription begins on *jayati maha*[8], which may be expanded to *jayati mahītlaṁ*. The final character is clear on almost every specimen and seems to be *nvi* ". Two letters before it found on a few coins are *su* and *dha*,[9] which completes the word as *sadhanvī*. Therefore, only the name of the issuer remains to be read out and for that Allan points out that " the fragments visible beside the arrow 'in Pl. XIX.68 suggest *Skandagupta* ".[10] Altekar himself accepts that in all probability this legend is on the model of his father's legend written

1. Ibid, 243.
2. Ibid, p. 244.
3. Ibid, Pls., XX, 1-12; XXI, 13-24; XXII, 25-36 ; XXIII, 37-48 ; XXIV, 55-67 ; XXV, 1-11.
4. *INSI*, XII, pp. 112 ff.
5. *EI*, p. XXXIII, 308.
6. *INSI*, 1032.
7. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Sasanka, King of Gauda*, 1914, p. CXX.
8. Ibid, Pl, XX , 4.
9. Ibid, Pl. XIX, 2, 3 and 8.
10. Ibid, pp. CXX-CXXI.

on his Archer type, Class III, Variety C '.[1] The legend on the coins of the Archer type under discussion starts at I and ends at XI.[2] Similarly on Kumāragupta I's Archer type, Class III, Vat., C, which has the identical legend, the characters are written at the same places.[3] On the King and the Lakshmi type, the letters are engraved nearly at the same places;[4] the characters *jya* above the head of the goddess and *nvī* between the head of the King and Garuda. Altekar himself notes that the scanty remains of the intervening letters should have been *Skandaguptaḥ*.[5] Therefore, the presumption of the existence of 'some significant expressions' in the circular legend of the lighter weight class of the Archer, and the King and the Lakshmi types is unwarranted.

Against its attribution to Ghatotkachagupta, Altekar rightly points out that " the general make up and fabric of the Ghatotkachagupta coin in the Leningrad Museum appears to be much cruder than that of Kramāditya coin in the Bayana hoard. The latter appears to be definetely earlier ".[6] Ajit Ghose,also writes about the specimen of the Ghatotkachagupta coin which he has published, that " the fabric and execution and the heavy weight definetely make it out to be a later Gupta coin ".[7]

So far two Ghatotkachagupta coins have been noticed and they are of the Archer type.[8] They weigh 141.22 and 135.5 grains. These weights indicate them to have been issued on the heavy weight standard adopted by Skandagupta in the later part of his reign.

On the coins of Ghatotkachagupta, the legs of the goddess are shown slightly raised.[9] This feature is marked on some of the coins of Skandagupta and Kumāragupta II.[10] Therefore, Allan holds that " the treatment of the legs of the goddess on the reverse suggests that it is contemporary with Kumāragupta II ".[11] But as this feature begins

1. *Coinage*, p. 242 fn 2.
2. *BMC, GD*, Pl. XIX, 1 and 4.
3. *Coinage*, Pl. X, 4, 5 and 6.
4. *BMC, GD*, Pl. XIX, 6 and 7.
5. *Coinage*, p. 247, fn. 1.
6. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 101-2.
7. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 260.
8. Ibid, pp. 260-61 ; *BMV, GD*, p. 149.
9. *BMC, GD*, pl. XXIV, 3 ; *JNSI*, XXII, Pl. IX, 6,
10. *JNSI*,
11. *BMC, GD*, p. civ,

from the coinage of Skandagupta, these coins may be placed between these rulers.

The statement of Gupta, that the Chhatra type is the rarest, does not apply to every case, as, this type of Chandragupta II, in whose reign it originated, is more common than those of the Lion-slayer type. It is also difficult to agree with Gupta that this type was the coronation issue, as, many of the Gupta Kings, e.g. Samudragupta, Kācha and Skandagupta did not circulate any coin of this type.

Samudragupta issued coins of three weight standards, 115, 118 and 121 grains,[1] but more than 80% of his coins followed to the last standard.[2] Chandragupta II's coins were also minted on the three weight standards, 121, 124 and 127 grains but the popular weight standard of Samudragupta was predominently used by him also; it forms about 80%.[3] All the coins of Class I of the Archer type are issued on the weight standard of 121 grains.[4] " There are none which weigh 123 or 124 or 126 or 127 grains.[5] On the reverse of these coins, the goddess is seated on the throne.[6] This is the characteristic feature of his father Samudragupta's time[7] and that is in the close resemblance to the Kushaṇa prototype. And, therefore, Allan rightly points out that they were issued earlier than Class II, the lotus reverse device,[8] invented in the time of Chandragupta II. The coins of Class II are minted in all the weight standards : 65% follow 121 grains standard, 15% of 124 grains and 20% of 127 grains. Some of the varities of this class, D,G,I, and J only followed the weight standard of 121 grains and Vat. F to that of 127 grains.[9]

The last weight standard introduced by Chandragupta II became the popular standard weight in the time of Kumāragupta I.[10] Therefore, some of the coins of the class II seem to have been minted at the end

1. *Coinage*, p. 41.
2. Ibid, p. 298.
3. Ibid, p. 296.
4. Ibid, p. 299.
5. Ibid, p. 295.
6. Ibid, p. 93 ff.
7. Ibid, p. 53 ff.
8. *BMC, GD*, p. lxxviii.
9. *Coinage*, p. 299.
10. Ibid, p. 296.

of his reign. Thus the adoption of the popular weight standard and Kushāṇa influence of Samudragupta's coinage for the coins of Class I of the Archer type shows that the weight standard of 121 grains was followed in the beginning and the weight standards of 124 and 127 grains were invented in the later part of the reign of Chandragupta II. About 90% coins of the Chhatra type follow the 121 grains standard but nearly 10% coins were issued on 124 grains standard.[1] A few coins of the heavy weight standard of this type itself show that it was not a coronation-commemorative type but issued afterwards. Otherwise all would have been minted on the weight standard followed by Samudragupta as this event occurred just after the reign of Samudragupta. It is also to be mentioned that the Couch type, which is only issued on the standard of 121 grains,[2] shows to have preceded the Chhatra type. Altekar also thinks that the 'Archer type, Class I and the Couch type were issued early in the reign whereas the Chhatra type perhaps a little later as is suggested by their reverse motif, showing the goddess seated on the throne'.[3] Therefore the Chhatra type of Chandragupta II can not be regarded his first coin-type.

The data available regarding the coins of Kumāragupta I shows that the standards of 121, 124 and 127 grains form about 10%, 15% and 75% respectively.[4] In Class I of the Archer type, the Variety C follows the light standard of 121 grains; Variety A usually issued on the standard of 124 grains whereas, in the Var. B., 85% of the coins follow the 121 grains standard, 5% the 124 grains standard and 10% the 127 grains standard.[5] A few coins of the lighter weight standards of 121 and 124 grains are minted in the Horseman,[6] Swordsman,[7] Lion-slayer,[8] and the Tiger-slayer[9] types. The rest follow the heavy weight standard. This analytical study shows the increase of the weight standard in Kumāragupta's reign and the coins in the heaviest weight standard in highest majority indicate that this standard was employed soon after the beginning

1. Ibid, p. 299.
2. Ibid, pp. 133, 299.
3. Ibid, p. 149.
4. Ibid. p. 296.
5. Ibid, p. 300.
6. Ibid, p. 176.
7. Ibid, p. 184.
8. Ibid, p. 185.
9. Ibid, p. 192.

of his reign but certainly not at the time of his coronation as is evident by a small percentage of the coins of the lighter weight standards. The Chhatra type is minted exclusively on heaviest weight standard[1] and therefore it may not be considered as the coronation issue.

Thus all these evidences suggest that Skandagupta issued the heaviest weight coins in the later part of his reign when he had taken the epithet 'Kramāditya' and not be inferred on the basis of circular legend *vijitavanir-avanipatiḥ* so it may that this speciman was issued by Skandagupta. On the other hand, this piece, being of the lighter weight and with the reverse legend *Kramāditya*, appears to have been issued prior to the rule of Skandagupta. This coin may not be also assigned to Ghatotkachagupta who flourished, as is evident by his gold coins, after Skandagupta. Here I would like to make a suggestion for the consideration of scholars.

An inscription of Prabhākara at Mandsore records the name of a Gupta prince Govindagupta.[2] He is considered as the governor of the Western Malwa during the reign of his brother Kumāragupta I.[3] Bhandarkar observes that ' as Indra is said to be suspicious of Govinda-gupta's strength, the latter appears to have been a supreme ruler '.[4] In view of this, one of the possibilities expressed by Majumdar is that " he had rebelled, either against his brother Kumāragupta or the latter's son Skandagupta, a presumption that lends colour to the theory of the internal troubles during the closing years of Kumāragupta I or the early part of his son's reign ".[5] If this is correct, this coin can be attributed to this prince. This piece appears to have been issued to mark the seizure of the royal authority.[6]

1. Only two coins of this type of Kumaragupta I are found and that too, from the Bayana hoard. One weighs 126.1 and other 127.2 grains (*Bayana Hoard*, pp. 275-6).
2. *Select Inscriptions* p. 298 fn. 1
3. *The Vakataka Gupta Age*, 1954, p. 160.
4. *ASI*, 1922-23.
5. *The Vakataka Gupta Age*, 1954, p. 166.
6. More Coins of this variety are yet to be discovered.

TWO KSHATRAPA COINS FROM VIDARBHA

V. V. MIRASHI

[PL. IV]

Coins of the Western Kshatrapas are found from time to time in Vidarbha[1]; and I have published some such finds of the coins of later Kshatrapas from Vijayasena to Rudrasena III. Recently some coins of the Western Kshatrapas have been sent to me by my friends for decipherment and publication. Two of them are being published here.

1. A Coin of Kshatrapa Viśvasena

This coin was received from Y. K. Deshpande, who had obtained it from a friend at Bhātkuli, a village near Amaravati in Vidrabha.

Findspot—Bhātkuli ; Weight 1.7 gm. ; Size 1.3 cm.

Obv.—Bust of king to right ; no letters round the edge ; symbols of date behind the ear cut off.

Rev.—Three-arched hill, with a crescent on the left. No star on the right. Only part of the following legend legible—*Rajña* (*Mahakshatrapa Bhartṛidama-putrasa*) *Rajña Kshatrapasa Viśvasenasa.* **(PL. IV, 1).**

I have published another coin of this kshatrapa found at Kuṇḍinapura in Vidarbha in this Journal, but his name was not fully legible thereon. The *aksharas* of his name are quite clear on the present coin. As on other coins of his reign he bears on this coin also the lower title *Kshatrapa.* The date on the obverse is cut off.

II. A Coin of Kshatrapa Rudrasena III

This coin was sent to me by M. R. Joshi of Akola ; who had obtained it form I. M. Khan of Bāsim (Vāśīm) in the Akola District of Vidrabha.

1. *JNSI*, XXXI, pp. 113 f. ; XXIII, pp. 225 f. ; XXVII, pp. 94 f.

Findspot—Bāsim; Weight 1.75 gm. Size 1.4 cm.

Obv. : Bust of king as above. Behind the ear traces of the symbols for 200 30 and 4 or 5. Of these, the first is probable—the slanting stroke, turning the imperfectly preserved symbol, for 100 into one for 200, being quite clear. The next symbol, though partially out at the top, is also probable, judging by the traces left. The next or unit symbol is, however, uncertain. Its lower trace, still visible, indicates that it is either 4 or 5.

Rev. : A Three-arched hill, with a crescent on the left and a star on the right. Only part of the legend round the edge legible—*Svami-Jiva* [*dama-putrasa*] *Rajna Kshatrapasa Rudrasenasa*[10] :

(**PL. IV**, 2)

When I first deciphered the legend on this coin, I read the reigning Kshatrapa's name as *Rudrasena*. Later, I noticed that no Kshatrapa ruler of the name Rudrasena, son of Svāmi Jīvadāman has been mentioned by Rapson in his *Catalogue* of Kshatrapa coins in the British Museum. The only reigning Kshatrapa who was a son of Jīvadāman, mentioned in that *Catalogue* is Rudrasiṁha.[2] On the corresponding Kshatrapa coins deciphered by Bhagvanlal Indraji[3], H. R. Scott[4] and D. R. Bhandarkar[5] also the name of the Kshatrapa was read as *Rudrasiṁha*. Rapson states that on some coins[6] the letter *ha* appears in its old horizontal form which shows the Kshatrapa name to be clearly *Rudrasimha*. On some other coins, however, the letter read by him as *ha* appears like a vertical and therefore may be read as *na*. In that case, the name of the reigning Kshatrapa would be *Rudrasena*. It is noteworthy that only one of the coins on which he noticed the old form of *ha* has been illustrated in Plate XVI attached to his Catalogue[7], but on this coin the letter is far from clear. In the Uparkot hoard deciphered and described by H. R. Scott, there were some coins of this type, on which the Kshatrapa name was read by him as *Rudrasiṁha* but on the coins illustrated by him (viz. Nos.

1. This sign of *visarga* appears on some coins of this type.
2. Rapson, *BMC*, pp. 170 f.
3. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, part i, p. 40.
4. *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 207.
5. *ARASI*, for 1913-14, p. 241.
6. See coins Nos. 768, 779 and 781 in the *BMC*.
7. *viz.* coin No. 779.

6 and 7 in the Plate attached to his article) the letter read by him as *ha* appears to be *na*.[1] D. R. Bhandarkar also gives the Kshatrapa name as *Rudrasiṁha* only in his article on the Sarvania hoard, but the name is not legible on the only coin (viz. No. 12 in his Plate) illustrated by him.[2] Recently, A. K. Narain has published a coin on which the letter appears in a vertical form and so he read the name as *Rudrasena*.[3] Altekar also agreed with him, but he was unable to decide whether the Kshatrapa's name was *Rudrasiṁha* or *Rudrasena*. Katare has published another coin of this Kshatrapa[4], on which he reads the disputed letter as *ha* and takes the name to be *Rudrasiṁha*. He says, " The vertical of the letter (*ha*) at the top is bound by a horizontal stroke and its lower portion is elongated downward with a slight bend toward the right." He has illustrated the coin, which appears quite clear in the Plate. The vertical stroke is, no doubt, more elongated than usual for *na*, but it is doubtful if this in itself is sufficient for the letter being read as *ha*. The bend, very slight, is noticed in the upper part, not at the bottom as it should be if the letter was intended to be *ha*.

Rapson states clearly that the letter on some coins (which he has specified in his *Catalogue*) is of the old horizontal type. In view of his long experience in the decipherment of ancient coins we cannot doubt its veracity. But if the old form of the letter was restored, as he says, in the time of Rudrasiṁha II, it looks strange that the old degenerate form of the letter also appears in some of his coins. It is, again noteworthy that the old form of the letter appears only on the undated coins described in his *Catalogue*. On some of the coins, illustrated in the *Catalogue*, the form is vertical and so the letter would naturally be read as *na*. As Rapson found the letter *ha* clear on some coins he read the reigning Kshatrapa's name as *Rudrasiṁha* (II) on all coins. Again, it is noteworthy that the disputed letter appears in the vertical form in that Kshatrapa's name on the coins of his son Yaśodāman. It would therefore appear that the coins in question have to be referred to two Kshatrapas—some with the horizontal *ha* to Rudrasiṁha II and others, with the so-called vertical degenerate form of it, to Rudrasena (to be called Rudrasena III).

1. *JBBRAS*, XX, plate facing p. 210.
2. *AR*, *ASI*, for 1913-14, plate LXVII.
3. *JNSI*, XII, pp. 167-169.
4. Ibid, XVI, pp. 207-209, Pl, II, No. 28.

The certain dates on the coins of Rudrasiṁha II, read by Rapson, range from Śaka 229 to 231. Some other dates such as Śaka 232 or 233 and 235 or 239 were proposed to be read by him, but the unit figure in these cases was uncertain. H. R. Scott read the dates on two coins of Rudrasiṁha II in the Uparkot hoard as 227 and 229.[1] D. R. Bhandarkar read some later dates in the Sarvania hoard as 232, 234, 235, 236, 237 and 238[2] but these are likely to be the dates of Rudrasena III's reign. We have a certain date (viz. Śaka 239) for Yaśodāman, the son of Rudrasena III.[3] It would seem, therefore, that at the end of the reign of Viśvasena, son of Bhartṛidāman, there was a revolution in the kingdom. Rudrasiṁha, son of Svāmi Jīvadāman who bears no royal title usurped the throne and ruled for a short period, perhaps from Śaka 227 to Śaka 231. He was succeeded by his brother Rudrasena III to whose reign the coins ranging in dates from 234 to 238 should be ascribed. He was followed in Śaka 239 by his (not Rudrasiṁha's) son Yaśodāman II. This appears to be the only satisfactory way of reconciling the conflicting evidence of these coins.

Consequently, on this correction in the attribution of the coins, some changes in the numbering of subsequent rulers will also have to be made. As suggested by A. K. Naṛain[4], Rudrasena III in Rapson's *Catalogue* will now be Rudrasena IV and Rudrasena IV will be Rudrasena V. Narain also suggested that Rudrasiṁha III should be named Rudrasiṁha II, but as we have seen that there are some coins on which Rapson read the name Rudrasiṁha clearly that change should avoided.

1. *JBRAS*, XX, p. 207.
2. *ARASI*, 1913-14, p. 241.
3. Rapson, *BMC*, p. 175.
4. *JNSI*, XII, pp. 168 f.

PĀRŪTTHA DRAMMA

SAMARESH BANDYOPADHYAY

Dramma, unanimously taken as a Sanskritised form of the Greek word *drachm*, was one of the most popular coin-names of ancient and medieval India. Its wide popularity is proved further from the fact that references to its different designations have been found in both literary and epigraphic records. One such designation is the *pārūttha-dramma* which occurs in a number of epigraphic and literary records of the early medieval period. An inscription (Śaka 1106 = A. D. 1184) of Aparāditya II [1] found at Loṇaḍa near Kalyāṇa in Maharashtra contains the passage

> *abhisheka-nimittāya Paurūthi-dra* 100
> *mahābhoganimitta daśavarshāvadhī*
> *yeshām upari pārūttha-dra* 30 *sahitam.*

Thus the passage while refering to a grant for the *abhisheka* of god Someśvara, mentions 100 *paurūthi-drammas*, and while referring to a gift for the *mahābhoga* of the temple for ten years, mentions 30 *pārūttha-drammas*. An inscription of Śilāhāra Someśvara[2] from Chhanje (Konkan) dated Śaka 1182 (A. D. 1206) mentions the coin-name under discussion as *poruttha-dramma*. The *Kharataragachchha-paṭṭāvalī* mentions the name twice, once as in use at Aṇahillapaṭṭana in Gujarat during the reign of Durlabharāja Chālukya[3] and thereafter as a coin used in the kingdom of Naravarman of Malwa, who granted two *pāruttha*s daily from the customs-house at Chitod for worship in a vidhichaitya.[4] In the *Purātanaprabandhasāṅgraha*, the name is given as *pārūthaka*[5] or *pārutha*[6] and the *Lekhapaddhati* calls it *pāraupatha*[7] or *pārūpathaka*.[8] Thus the different

1. *JBROS*, vol. XXIX, pp. 211-15.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIII, p. 280.
3. *JNSI*, vol. XXII, p. 196.
4. Loc. cit.
5. *Puratanaprabandhasangraha*, ed. Jinavijaya, Calcutta, 1936, pp. 53, 128.
6. Ibid, p. 78.
7. *Lekhapaddhati*, ed. C. D. Dalal, Baroda, 1925, p. 34.
8. Ibid, p. 43.

forms is which the coin-name has been found to be used are—(1) *paurūthi*, (2) *pārūttha*, (3) *poruttha*, (4) *pāruttha*, (5) *pāruthaka*, (6) *pārutha*, (7) *pāraupatha* and (8) *pārūpathaka*, and it seems clear from the references that it had a wide area of circulation covering Rajasthan, Malwa, Gujarat, Konkan and Marwar.

V. S. Agrawala is of the opinion that the *pārūtthadramma* was the same as the *bhillamāla-dramma* or *śrīmālīya-dramma*.[1] L. Gopal supports this view and draws our attention to the *Lekhapaddhati* which refers to the *pārūttha-dramma* as minted at the Śrīmāliya mint.[2] The suggestion, however, does not seem to be convincing in view of the exchange value of the *pārūttha-dramma* in comparison to other varieties of the *dramma* as indicated in a passage of the *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha* which states that one *pārūttha* was equal to eight *drammas*.[3] Bhillamāla or Śrīmāla was the name of a mint town and in the words of Gopal himself ' there is no justification for supposing that only one solitary type of coin was struck at this mint '.[4] In fact, the minting of not only the *pārūttha-dramma* but also that of the *viśvamallapriya-dramma*[5] and *dramma*[6] in general at Śrīmāla has been referred to in the *Lekhapaddhati*.

According to D. Sharma, the *Lekhapaddhati* proves that the *pārūttha-dramma* was a silver coin.[7] But, as Gopal rightly points out, there is no indication of it in any of the references to this coin in the said text. He thinks that Sharma probably bases his view on the term *raukya* used in some places.[8] But *raukya* means ' cash ' and, as Gopal states, in the *Lekhapaddhati* it refers to the cash payment of these coins in the transactions recorded in the documents.[9] Had it been possible to establish the identification of the *pārūttha-dramma* with the so-called *bhillamāla-dramma* or *śrīmālīya-dramma* the problem of the metal of the coin-name under consideration could have been solved quite easily ; for the *dramma* of Bhillamāla has been regarded as of silver by Kshemakīrti.[10] According

1. *JNSI*, vol. XII, p. 201.
2. *vayam dramman na janimah, padu (ru) thakan dasyamah Parsavsthairuktam-deva ekasmin paruthake ashtaudrama bhavanti* (*Puratanaprabandhasangraha*, p. 53).
3. Gopal, L. *Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 199.
4. Loc. cit.
5. *Lekhapaddhati*, pp. 33, 37, 39, 42, 55.
6. Ibid, p. 34.
7. *JNSI*, vol. XXII, p. 196.
8. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
9. Loc. cit.
10. Cf. *rupa-mayam va nanakam bhavati, yatha Bhillamale dramma* (*JNSI* XIV., p. 109).

to V. S. Agrawala, the evidence of Kshemakīrti is supported by the *Niśīthachūrṇi*.[1] Gopal, however states that the higher value attached to the *pārūttha-dramma* by the *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha* could have been due to either their higher weight or superiority in metal. But as there is no coin weighing 540 grains he suggests that ' in contrast to the highly debased or billion pieces the *pārūttha* coins were of pure silver or were silver coins plated with gold '.[2] Gopal's suggestion that the *pārūttha* was a silver coin plated with gold may have some weight if it is remembered that *raukya* can also be a corrupt form of *raukma*, derived from *rukma* meaning gold. But the fact that there is as yet no record speaking of a gold *dramma*, it is probably reasonable not to speculate on the metal of the *pārūttha-dramma*.

Perhaps the most intricate problem relating to the *pārūttha-dramma* is the determination of the origin of the name. According to Alexander Kyd Nairne, the *pārūttha-dramma* possibly refers to the Parthian *dramma*, and they are perhaps the same as the coins mentioned by Abul Fida as Khurāsanī *dirham* and by Al Masūdī and Sulaiman as Tātariya or Tahiriyeh *dirham*.[3] But considering the area of circulation of the *pārūttha-dramma*, R. C. Agrawala opines that it is not justified to associate it with any foreign currency.[4] Shrigondekar takes it as a personal name like Bābāśāhī, Maḥammudī etc.[5] No doubt, the *Lekhapaddhati* uses the adjectives *śreshṭha* and *śrīmat* before the coin-name ; but according to Gopal, these do not necessarily imply that is was a personal name. He thinks that the adjective *śreshṭha* is for the coin and to its good condition refers, while *śrīmat*, if not used for the coin does not by itself make *pārūttha* the name of a king, as in many places the *Lekhapaddhati* uses *śrīmat* before the name of a city.[6]

D. C. Sircar, however, thinks that *śreshṭha* stands for *śreshṭhin*.[7] Gopal himself follows Sircar in taking *śreshṭha* Gaṁbhuvaka of the Chinchani plate of Krishṇa III as *śreshṭhin* Gaṁbhuvaka.[8] From the

1. *JNSI*, XII, p. 201; *Jaina Siddhanta Bhaskara* (Hindi), vol. XXI, p. 12.
2. Gopal, op. cit., p. 199.
3. *Bombay Gazetteer*, 1896, pt. II, p. 21 note 6.
4. *JNSI*, XVII, pt. II, p. 75.
5. *Lekhapaddhati*, p. 114, R. C. Agrawala and L. Gopal attribute Shrigondekar's view to C. D. Dalal, the editor of the *Lekhapaddhati*.
6. Gopal, op, cit, p. 198.
7. *Ep. Ind.*. vol. XXXII, p. 60.
8. Gopal, op. cit, p. 224.

forms *pārūpathaka* and *pārūthaka*, it has also been suggested that the name of the coin was derived from the place of its origin,[1] Though place-names ending in *patha* and *pathaka* are not very rare in India the suggestion that the coin derived its name from the place of its origin does not seem to be probable. Had it been so named, the coin should have been called *śrīmāla-dramma* for, as noted above, the *Lekhapaddhati* clearly describes the coin as having been minted at Śrīmāla.[2]

It would thus appear that the origin of this coin-name still remains a problem. A careful analysis of what is stated in the *Lekhapaddhati* with regard to the *viśvamallapriya* or *vīsalapriya-dramma* and the *pārūttha-dramma* however, gives support to Shrigondekar's view that it represents a personal name. The *Lekhapaddhati* states the following :—

(1) *Śrīśrīmālīyakharaṭaṅkaśālāhatatriḥparīkshitahaṭṭa - vyavahārajīrṇaviśvamallapriya dra...*[3]

(2) *Śrīsrīmālīyakharaṭaṅkaśālāhatatriḥparīkshitahaṭṭavyavahārikyaprachar-at śreshṭha dvivallakya vīsalapriya dra......*[4]

1. Gopal, of cit., p. 198. B. J. Sandesara and J. P. Thacker, however, think that the name indicates some place or region where this particular type of *drama* was current (*Lexicographical Studies in Jaina Sanskrit*) (M. S. University Oriental Series, No. 5, Baroda, 1960-61).
2. *Lekhapaddhati*, pp. 34, 43.
3. Ibid, p. 20.
4. Ibid, p. 42. The *dvivallaka-dramma*, mentioned in the *Kharataragachchhapattavali* (*JNSI*, vol. XXII, pp. 196-201) and the *Lekhapaddhati* (p. 42), has been explained by Shrigondekar (*Lekhapaddhati*, p. 118) and V. S. Agrawala (*JNSI*, XII, pp. 202 f.) as a mixture of two *valas* or six *rattis* of base metal.R. C. Agrawala also seems to have accepted this explanation (ebid, XVII, pt. II, p. 73). As there is no reference to the actual use of the *dvivallaka-dramma* before A. D. 1323, D. Sharma is of the opinion that it is a Muslim coin introduced into Rajasthan, Gujrat and Saurashtra only after those territories were conquered by the Muslims. He points out that in the *Kumarapalacharita* of Hemachandra and the Sanskrit *prabandhas* of Gujarat, the root *vall* or *val*, often found as *val* even in modern Rajasthani and Gujarati, means to turn back or return and as such the *dvivallaka-dramma*, according to him, means a *dramma* in which there are two turns of the base metal for one in the good one, i.e., in which the proportion of silver and copper is 1 : 2 (ibid, XXII, pp. 197-200). In this connection he draws our attention to the *athagani* coins of the *dramma* class, belonging to the reign of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak referred to by Thakkura Pheru in his *Dravyapariksha*, which have twice as much copper as silver. That the *athagani* was called *dramma*, a little more particularly than other billon coins, as Sharma points out, may be presumed from Shams-i-siraj's account which states that one *tanka* of Firuz-shah-Tughlaq was equal to six *hastaganis*, i.e., *athaganis* or 6 *dirhams* (loc. cit.). L. Gopal, however, states that if *vallaka* is taken in

(3) *Śrīśrīmālīyakharaṭaṅkaśālāhatatriḥ parīkshita haṭṭavyavahārikyaprachalita śreshṭhaśrīmat pāräupatha raukya gṛhīta dra......*[1]

(4) *Śrīśrīmālīyakharaṭaṅkaśālāhatatriḥparīkshitahaṭṭavyavahārikya prachrat śreshṭha śrīmat pārūpatha gṛhīta dramma......*[2]

Thus the *Lekhapaddhati* describes both the names almost exactly in similar terms, and if *viśvamalla* and *vīsala* are taken to represent personal names as has been done by all the numismatists, then *pārūttha* may also tentatively be regarded as a personal name.

Moreover, if the phrase *svīyasamutpanna prayojanavaśāt*[3] meaning minted by him to meet the demand or minted to meet the demand of his own, applied to the *viśvamallapriya* or vīsalapriya-*dramma* and the *pārūttha-dramma* in many places of the *Lekhapaddhati*, hitherto ignored,[4] is taken into consideration the hypothesis that *pārūttha* is a personal name gains good ground.

No king of the name of *pārūttha* is as yet known and if the suggestion that Pārūttha, like Gaṁbhuvaka and Vīsala or Viśvamalla,[5] was a

the sense of a weight in which sense it has been found to be used in Sanskrit (Monier-Willams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford, 1899, p. 928), then the *dvivallaka-dramma* may alternatively mean a subdivision of the *dramma* weighing 2 *valas* or 6 *rattis* or 10.98 grains ; and, according to him, some smaller coins of about this weight may represent the *dvivallaka-dramma* (Gopal, op. cit., p. 203).

1. *Lekhapaddhati,* p. 34.
2. Ibid, p. 43.
3. In some cases it is *sviyasamutpannaprayojanasvasena* (ibid, pp. 34, 35, 43).
4. Ibid, pp. 33, 34, 37, 39, 42, 55.
5. Scholars generally think that Visaladeva, to whom the *visalapriya* or *visvamallapriya-drammas* are to be attributed, was the Chalukya-Vaghella king of that name (*JNSI*, XVII, pt. II, p. 72; A. K. Majumdar, *The Chalukyas of Gujarat*, pl 273 ; Gopal, op. cit., p. 197). As it has been found, the *Lekhapaddhati* applies the adjectives *sreshtha* (p. 37), *jirna* (pp. 20, 30), *jirna-sreshtha* (p. 39) or *sreshtha-jirna* (pp. 39, 55) to the name. According to Majumdar, *jirna* is an adjective of the coin and means the old coin of Visaladeva (op. cit., p. 273). No doubt, the word literally means 'old'. Here, however, this epithet may well be taken as referring to *sreshthin* Visala or Visvamalla. Just as references to *jirna-Vyaparin*, *jirna-adhikarin* and *jirna-bhrtya* are found in the *Prabandhakosha* (ed. Jinavijaya, pp. 103, 127) meaning respectively as old, retired or experienced merchant, officer and servant, similarly the expression *jirna-sreshtha*, i. e., *jirna sreshthin* may be taken to mean old, experienced or established merchant or banker. According to Sircar, the phrase *jirna-sreshthi-*

śreshṭhin is accepted, as seems probable in view of the available materials, even though no serious conclusion is possible now, then the theories, that private issues went side by side with the state issues in ancient India[1] and that simillar also was perhaps the condition in the early medieval period[2] seem to stand on a firmer footing.

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visvamallapriya-dramma means the favourite *dramma* struck by the old *sereshthin* Visvalmalla (*Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 135). Sircar's suggestion that the *visvamallapriya-dramma* was issued or minted by the *sreshthin* Visvamalla seems probable in view of the fact that a document of the *Lekhapaddhati* which contains a variant of the above mentioned phrase is dated V. S. 1288, i. e., a date at least ten years before the accession of the Chalukya Visaladeva, when Bhima II (*c.* V. S. 1235-1298) was on the throne. According to Majumdar, however, the date V. S. 1288 in that particular document is due to a scribal error. D. Sharma states that the drafts of the *Lekhapaddhati* are models only and the date V. S. 1288 is sometimes given where it should not have been if historical chronology was followed.

1. E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, 1877, p. 3 ; D. C. Sircar, *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 297-301 ; K. D. Bajpai, ibid., XXV, pp. 19-20 ; Samaresh Bandyopadhyay, ibid., XXVIII, pp. 155-56).
2. D. C. Sircar, *JNSI*, VII, pp. 78 ff.

NOTES ON SOUTH INDIAN COINS

B. D. CHATTOPADHYAYA

I

Attribution of Coins of the Walve Hoard

Twenty gold coins discovered from the village of Walve in the south Satara district were published by P. L. Gupta in this *Journal*[1]. These coins were grouped into three varieties and the present note concerns itself mainly with the group described as variety C.

Thirteen coins belonging to this variety have all on the obverse the figure of a Garuḍa and on the reverse what appears to be the upper part of a *triśūla*. No definite attribution of these coins was suggested by P. L. Gupta.

So far as our present knowledge of south Indian numismatics goes it appears that these coins may be attributed to some branch or other of the Śilāhāra dynasty. Two gold coins attributed to the Śilāhāras have already been published.[2] They were found in the pre-Bahamani layers during the excavations at Kolhapur. Coins of identical type are also reported from Bid, about 7½ miles south-west of Kolhapur.[3] A comparative study of the Kolhapur coins with those from Walve reveals some features common to both. The Kolhapur coins have, like the variety C coins from Walve, the figure of a Garuḍa on the obverse and the upper part of *triśūla* on the reverse. The identify of both the obverse and the reverse devices probably indicates that coins from these two localities were issued by the same dynasty. The execution of the devices, particularly of the Garuḍa, varies on different specimens but this variation does not seem to relate to the localities; different specimens from the Walve hoard itself vary from one another on this point. Broadly

1. Vol. XX, pp. 78-80, Plates IV, 1-8, V. 1-4, 1a-4a.
2. Sankalia, H. D. and Dikshit, M. G. : *Excavations at Brahmapuri* (*Kolhapur*) 1945-46, (Deccan College Monograph Series, 5), Poona 1952, p. 39, Plate XV. 1268 : *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 15-16, Plate IV. 13-14.
3. Ibid.

speaking, the representation of the Garuḍa on the Kolhapur and Walve coins in similar. On some specimens from the Walve hoard,[1] the Garuḍa appears to hold an object in the right hand; the Garuḍa on the Kolhapur coins is portrayed in the same way. The representation of the *triśūla* device on the reverse of the coins from Kolhapur is also, generally speaking, similar to that on the coins of the Walve hoard.

The coins from these two different localities also appear to be related to one another by their weights. The majority of the coins from Walve weigh between 11.3 and 11.95 grains, whereas the coins from Kolhapur weigh 22.5 grains each.[2] The coins from Walve thus represent, roughly speaking, the half of the weight of Kolhapur coins.

The attribution of the coins from both Kolhapur and Walve to the Śilāhāras may be said to rest on convincing grounds. These coins are uninscribed but have been found in areas which were ruled by the Śilāhāras over a long period of time. In the period to which the two coins from Kolhapur have been assigned on stratigraphic grounds, one branch of the Śilāhāra family was ruling over Kolhapur in the south Maratha country as feudatory of the Kalyani Chālukyas. Another branch of the family, that of Karad, was ' settled above the ghauts and held a stretch of country that included the southern part of the Satara district, the extreme north of the Balgaum district, and most, if not all, of the Kolhapur state '.[3] Thus the areas of Śilāhāra rule well cover the localities from which the coins attributable to the Śilāhāras come.

Secondly, both the Śilāhāra families of Kolhapur and Karad had the *Suvarṇa -Garuḍa-dhvaja*, i.e., the banner of golden Garuḍa.[4] The Garuḍa device was also used on the seals of the copper plates of the Śilāhāra rulers.[5] As the dynastic symbol is taken to be the chief, though not always infallible, evidence for the attribution of many types of south Indian coins, the Kolhapur and Walve coins may well be attributed to the

1. *JNSI*, XX. Plate IV. 5-6.
2. The weight of these coins, given as 2½ grains in p. 39 of *Excavations at Brahmapuri*, appears to be a misprint for 22½ grains.
3. Fleet, J. F. : *The Dynasties of the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency from the earliest Historical times to the Musalman Conquest of* 1318 (Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, I, Pl. II), Bombay 1896, p. 544.
4. Cf. *IA*, V. p. 278; ibid, IX, p. 35; *JBBRAS*, 13, p. 3.
5. For the representation of the Garuda, which is, however, different from the Garuda figure on the coins, on Silahara copper plate seals, of. EI, III, plate facing p. 275; ibid. XII, p. 251.

Śilāhāras.[1] Though the Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers also used the Garuḍa on the seals of their copper plates, the stratigraphic evidence relating to the Kolhapur coins and the provenances of these coins which come only from a limited area rule out the possibility of the attribution of these coins to the Rāshṭrakūṭas. It may also be added that the reverse device of these coins has a parallel in the copper plates of the Śilāhāras. M. G. Dikshit pointed out that a similar engraving may be found on the Miraj plates of the Śilāhāra ruler Mārasiṁha.

All these evidences lead us to think that the variety C coins of the Walve hoard may be attributed to the Śilāhāras, though it is difficult to be specific about whether the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur or those of Karad issued them.

As for the coins of A and B varieties, P. L. Gupta and A. S. Altekar[2] tentatively attributed them to the later Chālukyas on the strengths of the boar device on them and the provenance. The proposed attribution of the variety C coins to the Śilāhāras shows that the evidence of the findspot is not as strong as it appeared to be. In fact, there are sufficient instances that the feudatories of the Chālukyas were issuing their own coinage and the coinage of the Goa Kadambas may be cited as a case in point.

Secondly, the coins of varieties A and B seem to be totally unrelated to the known specimens of Chālukya coinage. The shape of the coins of variety A is without any parallels in Chālukya coinage and so are the weight-standards of both varieties A and B, which do not in any way relate to the Chālukyan standard.[3] What is more important is that the legends on the coins of variety A donot correspond to the names and titles of Chālukya rulers.

Finally, though it is true that coins with the ' boar ' device are expected to show Chālukyan affiliations, yet the ' boar ' device by itself is no sure proof that they have to be attributed to the Chālukya dynasty. A number of coins, both in gold and silver, with the ' boar ' device on them have

1. Op. cit.
2. *JNSI*, XX, p. 80, fn. 2.
3. The weight standard of the coins attributed to the later Chalukyas has been discussed in some details by M. H. Krishna, *Dakkan Numismatics* (Thesis preserved in the Senate House Library, London university), Table 21, pp. 73 and 76.

been found in eastern areas of the peninsula,[1] but the legends on these coins make their proper attribution as difficult as the coins of varieties A and B from the Walve hoard.

All these points adduced above show how uncertain the attribution of these coins is.

II

Ramdurg Hoard and the Chronology of some Kadamba Coins

The hoard of coins discovered from the village of Mudakavi, six miles from Ramdurg in the Balgaum district of Mysore state[2] contained ten coins of a ruler *Śrī Nigalaṁkamalla Daṇḍinagova* and two coins of the so-called *Padmataṅka* variety usually attributed to the Kadambas. The importance of this hoard for a fresh and much awaited discussion on the problem of the chronology of some Kadamba and alleged early Chālukya coins has so far been overlooked.

The ruler *Nigalaṁkamalla Daṇḍinagova* to whom the majority of the coins from the Ramdurg hoard belong has rightly been referred to the close of the 12th century A. D.[3] Whether he is considered identical with the ruler mentioned in the Toragal inscription of 1187-88 A. D.[4] or not the palaeography of the coin-legends indicates that he flourished around that period. The association of the two so-called *padmataṅka* coins one of which is identical with a coin published by Walter Elliot[5] raises strong doubts about the early dates for these varieties of Kadamba coins suggested by him.[6]

The belief that the so-called *padmataṅka* variety of coins goes as far back as the 5th-6th centuries A. D. and that it was imitated from the Kadambas by the Badami Chālukyas is of long standing. G. Moraes[7]

1. Cf. *Proceedings and Transactions of the third oriental conference, Madras* 1925, pp. 268-273 ; *Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, 1925-26, pp. 21-26.
2. Desai, P.B., 'Gold coins of Dandinagova' in *EI*, XXXII, pp. 77-78 and plate. A note on this hoard was also published by P.L. Gupta in the *JNSI*, XX, pp. 80-81, plate VI, 1-5.
3. Desai, op.cit.
4. *IA*, XII, pp. 95-99.
5. Elliot, Sir Walter, *Coins of Southern India*, London 1885, plate II, No. 67.
6. Ibid, pp. 66-67.
7. Moraes, G., *The Kadamba Kula*, Bombay 1931, pp. 382-383.

seems to have accepted the chronology suggested by Elliot and in M. H. Krishna's opinion[1] also this variety of coins appears to belong to 'a very early period'. Moraes also, seems to consider[2] the coin with the legend *Bhujam* (sic) published by Elliot[3] as an early Kadamba coin. He refers[4] to a number of gold coins of similar fabric found in the Bijapur district and now in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Finally he also refers to a number of coins found in the Satara collectorate on which he tried to read the names of the early Kadamba rulers Kaṅgavarman, Bhagīratha and Ravivarman.

The idea that the coinage of the Badami Chālukyas was modelled on the *padmaṭaṅka* variety of Kadamba coins with necessary modifications was first suggested by Elliot[5] and seems to have been accepted by T. Desikachari[6] and M. H. Krishna[7], though the stand taken by these two latter writers is not clear.

All these suggestions about the early date of the so-called *padmaṭaṅka* coins seem to be based on very weak foundations. Even though some varieties of coins with several symbols separately punched on them may be attributed to the Kadambas, on the basis of the provenances or on the basis of devices, there is absolutely no justification in assuming that they go as far back as the 5th-6th centuries A. D. As for the belief that the early Kadamba coins served as the prototype for Badami Chālukya coinage, it may be pointed out that there is at present no positive evidence to attribute any type of coin to the early Chālukyas[8] and as such the possibility of the derivation of Badami Chālukya coins from early Kadamba issues does not arise. In fact, the only known milestones in the chronology of the punch-marked variety of South Indian gold coins were the coins of Kalyani Chālukya rulers Jayasiṁha and Trailokyamalla[9]

1. Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department, for 1940, pp. 80-81.
2. Op.cit., p. 382.
3. Supra, p. 105, fn. 5.
4. Op.cit.
5. Op.cit., pp. 66-67.
6. Desikachari, T. : *South Indian Coins,* Trichinopoly 1933, p. 53.
7. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department,* for 1933, p. 98.
8. The attribution of the two coins published by M.H. Krishna (ibid, pp. 98-99, Nos. 1-2) to the early Chalukyas is extremely uncertain. The same may be said about the coin from Karvan published in the *JNSI*, XIII, p. 221, plate IX. 28.
9. Cf. *IA*, XXV, pp. 321-22, Nos. 28-29; *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department,* for 1933, pp. 101-102, Nos. 7, 9,

and though different varieties of these punch—marked coins differ from one another on point of punched devices, legends or absence of legends, from the point of view of fabric they seem to form one broad class. It thus seems extremely doubtful if some specimens of this fabric could be dated as early as the 5th-6th centuries A. D. If some of them are referred to the 5th-6th centuries, as has been done by the writers mentioned above, there would exist a gap of not less than five centuries between these specimens and the specimens attributed to the Kalyani Chālukya rulers and this fact further strengthens the doubt about the early dates suggested for Kadamba coins.

As for the coins attributed to the early Kadamba rulers Kaṅgavarman, Bhagīratha and Ravivarman by Moraes it may be pointed out that none of these coins have been adequately published. He himself writes that the legends on these coins occur in the form of *Vira*, *Skandha* and *Baghi* and it appears highly conjectural to equate these to the names of Ravivarman, Kaṅgavarman and Bhagīratha, respectively. The coin which he has published as that of Bhagīratha[1] is identical, from the point of view of fabric, with some coins of the western Chālukyas of Kalyani.[2] All these tend to show that the specimens of Kadamba coinage believed to have been issued in the 5th-6th centuries A. D. donot,in fact, go back earlier than the beginnings of Chālukya rule at Kalyani. The same may be said about the coin with the legend *buja*[3] the attribution of which to the Kadambas cannot be considered as certain.[4] From the point of view of fabric, this coin is similar to the coin alleged to have been issued by Bhagīratha and as such to the Kalyani Chālukya issues. Many coins from the Kodur hoard have the same legend[5] and none of the coins from

1. Moraes, op. cit., plate 49. The only letter which is somewhat clear on the plate looks like *ja* and it is possible that the legend on this coin also was *Buja* or *Bujaba*.
2. Cf. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department,* for 1933, plate XXI, 4.
3. The legend should be read as *buja* and not *bhujyam.*
4. We propose to discuss the problem of the attribution of coins with the legend '*buja*' on some future occasion.
5. One such coin from the Kodur hoard with five retrospectant lions' punched separately and the legend *buja* on the obverse is in the Heberden coin room in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. That the legend *buja* or *bujaba,* in all probability representing the mediaeval south Indian title *bujabala,* is common on the coins of the Kodur hoard is evident from an excellent set of photographs of Kodur hoard coins given to me by Mr. Richard Falkiner of the Christie's, London.

this hoard go back to the 5th-6th centuries A. D. Palaeographically also, this early date can be entirely ruled out.

Finally, there seems to be some positive evidence at hand to show that possibly none of the Kadamba coins can be referred to a period earlier than the 10th-11th centuries A. D. M. G. Dikshit published[1] a coin of the Hangal branch of the Kadamba family. This coin also has on the obverse the device punched in the centre in the fashion of *padma-taṅka* coins and some punched letters. The Kadamba power of Hangal originated towards the close of the 10th century[2] and the Kanarese letters on this coin seem to suggest a date not earlier than the 11th century. The technology involved in the production of this coin is the same as in the case of coins attributed to the early Kadambas. The combined evidence of the published coins of the Kalyani Chālukyas, the coins of the Kodur hoard and lastly this coin issued by the Kadambas themselves indicates that the evolution of this technology in relation to the south Indian gold coins cannot be assigned at the present state of our knowledge, to a period earlier than the 10th century A. D. All the apprehensions about the early dates of Kadamba coins are confirmed by the Ramdurg hoard which shows the so-called *padmataṅka* type in association with coins of the 12th century. Though the specific chronology of the uninscribed coins attributed to the Kadambas cannot be established, it appears that they belong to the broad period between the 10th and the 12th centuries or more probably between the 11th and the 12th centuries when the majority of the coins of different branches of the Kodamba family, for example, the Kadambas of Goa, were struck.[3]

III

A Note on Salankayana Coins

In a recent issue of this Journal[4] S. Ramayya published two Śālaṅkāyana coins. He, however, failed to refer to any earlier publication of Śālaṅkāyana coins and I take this opportunity to point out that as early

1. *JNSI*, XI, pp. 91-92, plate VI. 6.
2. Cf. Moraes, op.cit., p. 93 ff.
3. Cf. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, for 1940, pp. 83-85; Moraes, op.cit., pp. 383-385.
4. Vol. XXIX, pt. I, pp. 42-43, plate 2, Nos. 1-2.

as 1940, six Śālaṅkāyana copper coins were published by T. N. Ramachandran from the collection of S. T. Srinivasagopalachari.[1]

A comparison of the materials published by Ramachandran with those published by Ramayya may be of some interest to the students of Indian numismatics. On the coins published by Ramachandran the obverse device consists of a 'couchant bull facing proper right' and not the 'standing humped bull' which figures on the coins published by Ramayya. The plates published in the *JNSI* are however, not at all clear and it is doubtful whether the reading of the legend given by Ramayya is correct or not. He is surely mistaken when he attributes these coins to Chandravarman[2] of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty as the correct name of the ruler is Chaṇḍavarman and not Chandravarman.[3] The legends on the coins published by Ramachandran clearly read *Śrī Chaṇḍa* and *Śrī Chaṇḍava* and the analogy of the Ikshvāku coins[4] may suggest that these are short forms of the full name which can be restored as *Sri Chaṇḍavarman*. The facts that the name of the ruler was Chaṇḍavarman and not Chandravarman and that on the coins published by Ramachandran the legend is either *Śrī Chaṇḍa* or *Śrī Chaṇḍava* raise doubts about the reading *Siri Chandhava* given by Ramayya. In fact, the forms of the letters given by him make it more probable that the reading is *Siri*[5] *Chaṇḍava*. In any case, however, the 'standing bull' device and the prefix *Siri* (if it is considered as a correct reading), instead of *Śrī*, show the distinct character of the coins published by Ramayya.

1. Law, B.C. (editor), *D.R. Bhandarkar Volume*, Calcutta 1940, pp. 213-217, plate I.
2. The same mistake was committed by A.S. Altekar, cf. Yazdani, G. (editor), *The Early History of the Deccan*, Oxford University Press 1960, parts VII-XI, p. 800. Altekar also wrongly wrote that the number of the coins published in the *D.R. Bhandarkar Volume* was one, that it weighed 94 grains and that it had the legend *Sri Chandrava* (*rman*) on the reverse.
3. Cf. Sircar, D.C., *The Successors of the Satavahanas in Lower Deccan*, Calcutta 1939, pp. 63-73.
4. Subrahmanyam, R., *A Catalogue of the Ikshvaku Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* (Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series, No. 5), Hyderabad 1962, pp. 23-24.
5. It is also doubtful whether the reading is *Siri* or *Sri*.

ANTIQUITY OF GOLD COINAGE IN INDIA

S. C. RAY

Available archaeological evidence tends to show that the silver and copper coinage of India go back to a period perhaps as early as the sixth century B. C. But the date of the gold coinage in India can not be pushed back to such a remote period. Archaeological excavations do not turn out any gold coin struck in India anterior to the Kushāṇa period and to corroborate or disprove the dating for the gold coinage in India to a pre-Kushāṇa period one has no other way but to turn to literary evidence.

The word *nishka* occurring in the early literary works of the country has been considered by some scholars as a synonym for gold coin. It was indeed so when Amarasiṁha annotated the word in his work telling that of the several meanings of the term one was that of a coined gold named *dīnāra*.[1] Apparently, the term *dīnāra* which was a derivative from Roman *denarius* could have acquired the meaning of a gold coin in a period following the Mediterranean contacts of and subsequent to the first century B. C. The word *nishka* used in works earlier than the *Amarakośa* however does not clearly indicate that it was a coined money. In the *Ṛigveda* and in the later Vedic literature the word occurs at several places where it can be interpreted as an ornament or rather the constituent part of an ornament, as a medal or at the most as a term of a recognised value and of the same category as a lump of gold[2]. It is often used with reference to gifts coming from the rich people.

Several references in the *Mahābhārata* do not take the meaning of the term any further[3]. On the otherhand, its frequent mention in connec-

1. *Amarakosa* (with commentary of Bhatta Kshirasvamin, ed. H. Dutt Sharma and N.G. Sardesai, Poona, 1941), III. 3. 13-14.
2. *Rigveda*, I. 126. 2; II. 33. 10; V. 19. 3; VII. 47. 15; *Atharvaveda*, V. 14. 3; V. 17, 14; VII. 99. 1; XX. 127. 3; XX. 131, 8; *Chhandogya Upnishad*, IV. 2.1.2; V, 13, 2; *Jaiminiya Upanisad Brahmana*, I. 36.7.8; *Satapatha Brahmana*, XI. 4.1.1.8; XIII. 4.1.7; *Gopatha Brahmana*; I. 3.6. For *nishka* used as a silver ornament see *Pancavimsa Brahmana*, XVII, 1, 14.
3. *Mahabharata*, virataparva, 36, 39; ew21, 10; Santiparva, 45, 5 Dronaparva 67, 6 to 10; Anusasanaparva, 13, 43; Sabhaparva, 49, 14-15.

tion with gifts and absence of use of the term with reference to actual sale or purchase of materials, fail to convince that it was used as a currency.[1] Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* seems to indicate that it denoted a certain standard of value in terms of which transactions of sale and purchases could be recorded at his time. A person's opulence also could be measured in the same way.[2] The *Jātakas* refer the term usually in hundreds and thousands, and undoubtedly in the sense of riches, but the contents in which this term is used do not specifically show that the term stood for a minted metallic coin.[3] Besides, the *Jātakas* seem to have taken their present form in the post-Kushāṇa period, and it can not be vouchsafed for that everything contained in it portrays India around the sixth century B. C. as presumed by some scholars.[4]

Another word *śatamāna*, used in the early literary works is also a contender in the field for being recognised as gold coin.[5] But the commentary of Sāyaṇa on the *Aitareya Brāhamaṇa* correctly points out that it was a round plate and could reasonably have denoted a certain standard of weight.[6] Khīrasvāmin in his commentary on *Amarakośa* explains it as *rūpiya-pala* i. e. measuring one pala of silver.[7] The word *śatamāna* has been mentioned as *hiraṇya* or *suvarṇa* at some places and as *rupiya* at others and perhaps denoted in an earlier period a certain weight standard applicable to either of the two metals but at later periods, the silver coin only.[8] If the word really meant coined gold, the commentators on the word would not have failed to record that fact while referring to its real meaning.

1. Thus in the Virataparva Kichaka attempts to tempt Draupadi by saying that if she accedes to his proposal he would give her *keyura* etc. including *nishka*. The mention of the word along with ornaments perhaps indicates that the *nishka* too belonged to the same category of objects.
2. *Ashtadhyayi,* V. 1. 20; V. 1. 30; V. 2. 119.
3. The *Jataka* contains many references to the use of *niehka,* e.g. *Kuhaka-Jataka,* I, 375; *Vessantara-Jataka,* VI, 547; *Duta-Jataka,* I, 224; *Maha-Umagga-jataka,* 462, 464.
4. Winternitz, M. *A History of Indian Literature,* II, p. 115f
5. *Satapatha Brahmana,* V. 5. 5. 16; V. 4. 3. 24; XII. 7. 2. 13; XIII. 2. 3. 2, 4. 1. 13, 4. 2. 10; *Taittiriya Brahmana,* I. 2. 7. 3, 7. 6. 2; *Katyayana srautasutra,* XV, 181-3; *Vajasenayi Samhita,* III. 2. 6. 3; II. 3. 11. 5; *Ashtadhyayi,* V. 1. 27; Katyayana's *Varttika* (on Panini), V. 1. 29.
6. Sayana, V. 5. 5. 16.
7. *Amarakosa* (with commentary of Bhatta Kshirasvamin, ed. Dutt-Sharma and N.G. Sardesai, Poona, 1941), III. 5. 34.
8 Sircar, N.C. 'The satamana', *JNSI,* XV, pp. 136-150.

The term *suvarṇa* is undoubtedly used in the sense of coined money in the inscriptions of the Guptas in one of which it is used concurrently with the term *dīnāra*.[1] The term possibly can be interpreted to stand for a gold coin also in one of the Nasik inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna, dated year 42 (120 A. D.) where it could evidently indicate a Kushāṇa gold coin.[2] But there is no proof that the *suvarṇa* was a coined money at a still earlier period. In Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* the term *suvarṇa* occurs not as a coin, but as a standard of measure with reference to gold.[3] As the term *suvarṇa* is not clearly mentioned as a coined money in any work prior to the Kushāṇa period,[4] it becomes evident that the word, as already seen in the *Arthaśāstra*, was linked to a weight system of gold in the pre-Kushāṇa times. Possibly, the *nishka* and the *śatamāna* too, like the *suvarṇa* were used in the same manner, but were not " coins " in a period earlier than the introduction of the *dīnāra*.

Other terms, like *pāda*, *suvarṇamāsaka*, *kṛshṇala* etc. mentioned in various early literary works,[5] are not unlikely to be linked in a weight system forming parts of *nishka* *suvarṇa* or *śatamāna* but unless it can be conclusively proved that the latter terms actually meant gold coins in the period of Indian history prior to the Graeco-Roman contact, any attempt to determine the nature and character of the former terms as coined money will be an useless persuit.

In the background of the ambiguous terms alleged to stand for gold coins in the early literary works of India an information recorded in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* that gold coins called, *Chaltis* were current in the locality of Gange i. e.[6] in the eastern part of India, comes as a welcome relief, being the earliest datable authentic literary reference testifying to the prevalence of gold currency in any part of India.[7]

1. Fleet, *CII*, III, No. 64.
2. *EI*, VII, pp. 82 ff.
3. This has been correctly pointed out by P.L. Gupta in his paper. 'Numismatic data in the *Arthasastra*', *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 13-37.
4. For the term used in the *Mahabharata* being later interpolation, see V.S. Agrawala, 'Coin in the *Mahabharata*', *JNSI*, *XVIII*, 147-50.
5. *Brhadaranyka-Upanisad*, III, 1, 2; *Taittiriya Brahmana*, I, 3, 6, 7; *Udaya- Jataka*, IV, 106-08 etc.
6. *Periplus*, 63·
7. The *Periplus* is generally placed in the middle or second half of the first century A.D., on the basis of certain statements made in the book though the possibility of its being slightly later in date can not be excluded; R.C. Majumdar, *Classical*

The etymology of the term *Chaltis* has not been satisfactorily explained and on the meaning and significance of the term *Chaltis* various opinions have been expressed by scholars. Whatever the truth may be, the evidence of literary history and archaeology can be surprisingly reconciled if the word *Chaltis* is taken to stand for gold Kushāṇa issues. The earliest gold coins of eastern India so far discovered are the coins of the Kushāṇas.[1] Besides, a gold coin assigned approximately to the middle of the third century A. D. on the evidence of stratigraphy at Sisupalgarh, Dt. Puri, Orissa showing the figure of a standing king on the obverse imitating an obverse type of the gold coin of the Kushāṇa king Kanishka, indicates that it was based on original Kushāṇa issues which must have previously been in circulation in the eastern parts of India.[2]

There is a bit of negative evidence also to indicate that gold coins were not current in India before the period of Greaco-Roman contact. While speaking of the Achaemenid domination over India, Heradotus states that the Indian satrapy paid to the emperor an annual tribute of " 360 talents of gold dust".[3] In all likelihood the question of payment in gold dust would not have arisen if there were minted gold coins in existence. Again when Alexander invaded India, we learn on the evidence of Quintus Curtius that he was presented by the King of Taxila a gift of eights talents of *signati argenti*, rightly interpreted by Cunningham as coined silver.[4] The gift in silver coins had to be made evidently in the absence of a gold coinage.

Accounts of India, p. 288; 'Zacqueline Pirenne, Recherches Sur le Periple de la Mer Erythree, *Bibliotheque du Museo.,* Vol. 48, 1961. This coupled with the fact that the dates of the Kushanas hovering around the first century A.D. are still indeterminate leaves no contradiction for the assumption of the *Periplus* being a work contemporary to the Kushanas.

1. Chanda, R., *Gaudarajamala* (in Bengali), p. 4; *JBORS*, I (1915), pp. 231-32; *JASB*, NS., XXVIII, pp. 127-29.
2. Lal, B.B., 'Sisupalgarh 1948: an early historical fort in eastern India', *AI*, No. 5, p. 95. The impression of a gold coin of Huvishka on a talisman noticed by Cunningham bellow the *Vajrasana* while repairing the Mahabodhi temple at Bodhgaya (A. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi,* pp. 21, 37, 53, 54), another similar talisman from archaeological excavation at Sadargalli, Patna city (A.S. Altekar, 'A golden amulet imitating a coin of Huvishka,' *JNSI*, XX, pp. 1-3), and a third one discovered in the excavations at Kumrahar (A.S. Altekar and V. Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations,* 1951-1955, p. 131) strengthen the theory.
3. Herodotus, iii, 97. The statement of Herodotus about the quantity of Gold however is considered to be a highly exaggerated one.
4. Majumdar, R. C., op. cit., p. 115.

Though it has been maintained in the previous pages that gold coins were issued as currency in the times of the Kushāṇas, it has to be admitted that the rulers of the north-west India even in an earlier period were not unacquainted with gold coin. Apart from the gold *darics* which were struck by the Persian invaders at least three of the Graeco-Bactrian kings, Diodotus I, Diodotus II and Euthydemus I and two of the Indo-Greek rulers Eucratides I and Menander are known to have issued gold coins. But there is no evidence that these coins were ever meant for circulation in the Indian territory. Even at Taxila where intensive digging was done by Marshall only one gold coin belonging to the Graeco-Bactrian rulers was recovered. This was a gold state of Diodotus.[1] And even there it was found to be deposited with treasures of valuable jewelleries showing that it was more of a part of a treasure than a medium of exchange. At least it can not be proved that the coin was used as currency on the soils of India. Again unlike some of the silver and copper specimens, none of the gold issues struck by the above noted rulers is bilingual. This is significant and possibly indicates that these gold coins were intended for use only in the territory north of the Hindukush.[2]

Non-circulation of gold coin in the Indian economy of the pre-Kushāṇa period, inspite of the fact that the Indians knew the use of gold since the Harappan period is not difficult to explain. A critical study of the mode of life and material contents as revealed from archaeological excavations, specially from recent stratified digs points out without ambiguity that the Indian economy of the post-Harappan period was essentially agronomic pastoral and local and for under-developed to require or support a system of gold coinage. The Chalcolithic culture and the Painted Grey Ware culture[3] which followed the period of the Harappan in various

1. Marshall, J., *Taxila,* I, p. 110. For the controversial view whether this coin belonged to Diodotus I or to Diodotus II, see ibid, II, p. 854.
2. The paucity of gold coins struck by the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers in comparison with their large quantity of silver and copper issues and the very nature of some of the gold issues which were medallions of a commemorative nature, leaves the impression that the gold coins were used in a very restrictive field. Possibly, the gold issues had to be introduced originally to meet demands in the complex Mediterranean-Central Asian trade and afterwards became prestige issues with some of the monarchs but there is no evidence that they were ever in circulation as media of exchange within the boundaries of India.
3. Including the minor offshoots of these cultures or other differing contemporary cultures, which were in no way economically more prosperous than theirs.

parts of India bear unmistakable marks of poverty in their material products and point towards a life in the lower ladder of the food producing stage. There is no evidence that people belonging to these cultures ever came to know the use of metallic currency. They were also unaccustomed to the use of gold.[1] But with the increased use of iron in the form of various implements, when large tracts of forests in the fertile river valleys were cleared off the main impetus of production must have shifted from cattle rearing to agriculture and there must have been a considerable yield in corn products to leave surplus wealth in the new economic life, a picture that one can comprehend to take place not long after 600 B. C. The new age known in Indian archaeology as the period of N. B. P. culture, saw the introduction of silver and copper coins,which were needed in local commercial transactions. But inspite of occasional foreign contacts on the fringes of political life and setting up of an all India empire under the leadership of the Mauryas the economy of this period was not commerce oriented and centred around agriculture and local trade, a situation that could not back up the striking of the gold coins. In fact if we are to evaluate the economic prosperity of this culture, fairly well spread and ranging roughly speaking from 600 B. C. to 200 B. C. by the remains that it had left it must be admitted that it lacked the affluence of other contemporary cultures of the middle east and the Mediterranean region.[2]

Another factor that explains the absence of gold coin is the extreme scarcity of this valuable metal in India prior to the priod of Roman trade. Archaeological excavations have yielded practically no gold object in levels assignable to pre-Roman contacts,[3] Taxila being an exception

1. Lal, B.B.,Excavation at Hastinapura and other explorations in the upper Ganga and Sutlej basins, 1950-52, AI, Nos. X and XI,pp. 11-15; Sharma, G.R. *Excavations at Kausambi*-1957-59, relevant references on first and second cultural periods; Sankalia, H.D., Subbarao B. and Deo, S.B. *The excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli,* 1952-53, relevant sections on period III; B.K. Thapar, Prakash 1955: a cholcolithic site in the Tapti valley, *AI,* Nos. 20 and 21, pp. 5-167, etc.
2. Lal, B.B., op. cit., pp. 15-17; Sharma, G.R., op. cit., relevant references on third cultural period; Sankalia and others, op. cit., sections on period IV; Altekar A.S. and Mishra, V., op. cit., concerned references on period I, ect.
3. The treasure trove finds of India, as well as the excavated finds, as recorded in various Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India tend to show that gold though not entirely unknown (e.g. figure in gold, at Piprahwa or gold leaf with mother-goddess figure from Lauriya, or minute fragment of gold leaf at Vaisali) was a scarce commodity in the pre-Kushana period. Almost all objects of

where again, the few gold objects coming from pre-Kushāṇa levels are almost entirely Greek or Graeco-Roman in character.[1] We have no idea about the location of gold mines in ancient India and of their output in the pre-Kushāṇa period.[2] But the total quantity of gold obtained from such sources as well as those obtained from river washings doesnot seem to have been adequate, and India had to look upon the neighbouring countries to meet her requirements in gold even when the gold currency was not in vogue.[3]

Roman gold coins coming mainly by way of trade have been recovered from various parts of India, mostly in the south[4] and stratigraphic

antiquity, in gold, come from Kushana, Gupta or still later periods. This is natural. Whatever may be the inflated patriotic idea cherished by many about the economic prosperity of ancient India, the real fact stands out that the Graeco-Roman contact and the foreign trade flowing from it,followed later on by commerce- with south-east Asian countries had a tremendous impact on the hitherto lean economic conditions of India. Gold coins, reliquary caskets in gold, beads with gold foil, gold beads, ornaments, talisman all datable to the period,immediately following the wake of Mediterranean trade (Sankalia.,H.D. and Dikshit,M.G., *Excavations at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur)* 1945-46, pp. 144-45; Dikshit, M.G., *Tripuri* 1952, p. 92; Sankalia and others, *From history to pre-history at Nevasa*, pp. 422-424; Altekar and Mishra, op. cit. pp. 130-131 etc.) are indeed new features in Indian economic life and point towards a prosperity, not experienced before.

1. Marshall, J., *Taxila*, II, pp. 616-637. The jewellery recovered from a hoard at Bhir mound in 1945, not taken into account by Marshall, stylistically did not materially differ from the previous ones; besides other objects of undoubted foreign workmanship, found in this hoard, further link up the jewellery with foreign workmanship; Young, G.M.,A new hoard from Taxila, *AI*, No. 1, pp. 27-36.
2. Neither the *Arthasastra* nor the accounts of classical writers (Herodotus, III, 102-26; Strabo, XV. I. 37 C. 703, XV. 1. 44 C. 706; Arrian, *Indica*, XV, 6 etc.) are not informative in the matter. The reference of gold digging ants by the latter, on the otherhand has been interpreted to indicate import of gold in India from outside, Tarn, W.W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 107. When the *Periplus*(63) refers to the existence of gold mines near the lower Ganga region he might have in his view gold yielding countries of South-east Asia. It may not be out of point to mention here that the theory propounded by some scholar (*Cambridge History of India*, I. pp. 343, 403) that abudance of gold stood against the circulation of *darics* in India and allowed only the circulation of siglos is based on a presumption not supported by facts. As pointed out by Marshall exceptional dearness of silver and not the cheapness of gold could have produced the same result; Marshall, op.cit., p. 620.
3. *Periplus*, 49; Marshall, op.cit., p. 620.
4. *AI*, No. 2. pp. 116-121.

excavation has clearly proved that these coins are assignable to occupational layers belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era.[1] The demand of these coins, which must have set a standard of value in the world trade of the then times, was enormous. Hence to face the requirements of the world trade, passing through his own dominion, king Kadphises II struck his gold coins on the same standard as that of the Roman so that the former would be acceptable to traders of all the countries participating in this international trade and the thread left by him was taken up with a greater zeal by his illustrious successors. The availablity of large quantity of gold from the Mediterranean world as a result of favourable trade solved the problem of the scarcity of gold.[2] It is also highly probable that south east Asia, the *suvarana bhūmi* and the *suvarṇadvipa* of early Indian literature, with which the maritime trade of India had opened in the early centuries of the Christian era and the gold rich oxus region which was under the control of the Kushāṇa further started pumping gold in the Indian economy. Thus India came to have her first coinage in gold only when she felt the real need of striking gold coins and had resources to implement the need. The presumption of India having a gold coinage in a period earlier than the rule of the Kushāṇas is indeed a myth.

1. *AI*, No. 4, p. 287; Ray, S.C., *Stratigraphic evidence of coins in Indian excavations and some allied issues*, pp. 11-12. Probably these Roman gold coins have been referred to in an Ikshvaku inscription from Nagarjunakonda, where they have been named as *dinarimasaka*, Sircar, D.C., *Select Inscriptions*, (1st. ed.), p. 222.
2. The bulk of the gold, in all probability, came in the form of bullions as a result of favourable trade. The view held by some scholars that the Roman aurei coming into India used to be melted and recoined by the Kushanas is unwarranted by facts.

NUMISMATIC REFERENCES IN THE KUTTANIMATA OF DAMODARAGUPTA

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

The *Kuṭṭanī-mata*[1] of Dāmodaragupta the chief-minister (*dhī-sachiva*) of the Karkoṭa king of Kashmir Jayāpīḍa (778-813)[2] enjoyed great popularity among the rhetoricians and compilers of anthologies.[3] The object of the author in writing this beautiful poem was to save the contemporary generation from being beguiled by whores, and with this aim in view he gave a vivid exposition of the deceptive devices adopted by strumpets to squeeze wealth. Though having pornography for its subject matter the work throws a flood of light on various aspects of contemporary life in India in general and Kashmir in particular. The numismatic material contained in it is, however, very scanty; but it is of great interest as will appear from the following lines.

The lowest denomination of prevailing currency which had an exchange value in contemporary market was the cowrie-shell (*varāṭikā*). While describing the tricks a courtesan should adopt to get rid of an impoverished paramour, Dāmodaragupta states that at her behest a maid, not being seen by but within the hearing distance of the man, should pointedly tell that the value of such a deplorable man as is deridedly laughed at by the servants at the instance of their mistress is not even five cowrie-shells.[4]

1. Also known as *Sambhali-mata* and *Kamini-mata.*
2. *Raja-tarangini,* IV. 496.
3. Stanzas from the *Kuttani-mata* have been quoted in a large number of works on poetics and in anthologies of Sanskrit verses. The work is mentioned by name by Kalhana (*Raja-tarangini,* IV. 496), Padmasri (*Nagara-sarvasva,* XXXVII. 16) and Hemachandra (*Kavyanusasana,* VIII. 8 of Alankarachudamani gloss and verse 193 of Viveka commentary by Hemachandra himself).
4. Verse 634 (T.M. Tripathi's edition, Bombay 1924) which runs as follows :—
   Avagamy-abhiprayam svaminyah parijano=pi yam purusham ।
   Avahasati tiraskaryam tasya na mulyam varatikah pancha ॥

Cowrie-shells served as a medium of exchange from a remote antiquity, and even after the invention of metallic currency they continued to be used in day to day transactions side by side with coined money. Thus in spite of the abundant monetary issues in gold, silver and copper struck by the Imperial Guptas, the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian found the market places in the Gupta Empire flooded with cowerie-shells.[1] Similar was the case in ancient Kashmir. Abundant copper currency called the *Toramāṇas* circulated widely in Kashmir in the 6th century A. D. and for a long period thereafter.[2] From the seventh century A. D. onwards the Karkoṭa kings issued an extensive currency in electrum[3] silver[4] and copper.[5] Coined money continued to be minted by the rulers belonging to the Utpala and Lohara dynasties.[6] But this metallic currency could not drive cowrie-shells out of market, and the extant evidence, literary and archaeological indicates that they continued to be in circulation up to a comparatively late period. Dāmodaragupta is not the only writer to refer to the use of cowrie-shells. Kshemendra (11th century A.D.) mentions the use of cowrie-shells for ordinary daily transactions such as the purchase of vegetables (*Samaya-mātṛikā*, VIII. 80) connection with the same period.[7]

Our author makes a reference to the silver coins called *rūpaka*. Dilating upon the greediness of the courtesans, Dāmodaragupta represents

1. *The Travels of Fa-hsien* (399-414 A.D.), or *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*— retranslated by H.A. Giles (Cambridge 1923), p. 21.
2. In the excavation of the Avantisvamin temple at Avantipura Toramana coins were found in association with the coins of the Muslim rulers. *Vide ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 50-51. Their prevalence as late as 15th cent. A.D. is shown by *Srivara's Chronicle,* III. 213.
3. The electrum coins having a mixture of gold, silver and copper in different proportions may have actually been intended to pass as genuine gold coins.
4. Cunningham (*Coins of Medieval India,* p. 29) thought that the Karkota kings did not issue copper coins at all. He regarded the abundant copper coins bearing the names of the Karkota kings who issued them as forgeries which were guilt for passing as genuine gold coins. Smith (*IMC*, I, pp. 268-69), on the other hand, describes the copper coins of Pratapaditya II Durlabhaka and Vinayaditya Jayapida. Dr. S.C. Ray (*JNSI*, XIV, 1952, pp. 122-24), has given cogent reasons to show that the Karkotaka kings issued copper coins alongside the electrum coins. The point is clinched by Kalhana who states that from a mountain situated in Karmarajya Jayapida obtained copper sufficient to coin hundred crores less one *dinnaras* which bore his name (*Raja-tarangini,* IV. 617).
5. *IMC*, I, pp. 269-73.
6. Also cf. *Kala-vilasa,* II. 5 (*varatika*), 7 (*kapardika*).
7. *Raja-tarangini,* VII. 112.

Guṇapālita to have told his friend Sundarasena that for prostitutes a wealthy man is verily the god of love, a man with a variety of *rūpakas* is the most handsome, a man possessed of riches is the real lover, while one without wealth is dull.[1] The word *rūpaka* is employed in literature and inscriptions in the sense of silver coins. The silver coins of the Guptas[2] and of the Kalachuri King Kṛishṇarāja[3] were called *rūpakas*. There is no reason to doubt that Dāmodaragupta has also used *rūpaka* in this sense. But silver coins of Ancient Kashmir are rare in the extreme. Of the early rulers of Kashmir, only Pravarasena II (*cir*. 580 A.D.) is known to have issued silver coins weighing about 120 grains.[4] But Dāmodaragupta's reference to *rūpakas,* first noticed in these pages, seems to indicate the prevalence of silver coins in large number, and it is quite possible that one day we may come across more examples of silver coins. That silver coins continued to be in circulation in Kashmir as late as the 11th century is indicated by their mention in Kshemendra's *Samayamātṛikā* (VIII. 71).

However, the most interesting piece of numismatic evidence offered by Dāmodaragupta is the mention of the coin denomination called *Kedāra*. As a means of inciting a paramour to give his wealth to the prostitute he loved, a money-lender tells the prostitute that on the pearl-necklace she had pledged with him, her maid has already borrowed thirty *Kedaras* and wants to borrow more for her (prostitute's) paramour.[5] *Kedāra* as a coin denomination is also mentioned in Kāśikā (on Pāṇini, 5.2-120). As indicated by the name itself, it evidently, denoted the coins of ancient Kashmir issued in imitation of the gold and base gold coins of the Little Kushāṇas who were known as Kidāra Kushāṇas as the dynasty was probably founded by a chief named Kidāra. The gold coins of the Kidāra Kushāṇas carried the effigy of the king standing to left with the legend *Kidāra* in Brāhmī characters under his left arm on the obverse and the goddess Ardoksho, seated on throne with cornucopiae in her left hand, on the reverse.[6] The Toramāṇa copper coins, the gold

1. *Pradyumnah Pradyumno virupakah khalu virupakah satatam|*
Susnigdhah susnigdho ruksho rukshasa=tu ganikanam|| 305.
2. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* (1st ed.), pp. 343 ff.
3. *CII*, IV, pp. 151, lines 38-39.
4. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 43.
5. *Purvam dattasy—opari muktaharasya kedaras=trimsat |*
Paricharikaya nita anyan=api mrigayate vayasya—(v. 1. *vyayasya*) *krite ||* 606.
6. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians,* (Indological Book House, Varanasi 1962), pp. 56 ff. The Little Kushanas issued silver and copper coins also. The silver coins

and silver coins of Pravarasena II and the gold coins of Narendrāditya, issued in imitation of the Kidāra Kushāṇa coins, bear the name *Kidāra* on the reverse.[1] But the first regular series of Kashmir coins started with Durlabhaka, the founder of the Karkoṭa dynasty. The copper and electrum coins of all the Karkoṭaka kings from Durlabha to Jayāpīḍa-Vinayāditya, which are close copies of the gold coins of the Kidāra Kushāṇas, show, as a rule, the name *Kidāra* or its abbreviations (*Kida, Ki* or *Ke*) under the left arm of the standing king.[2] The presence of this name reminds one of the originator of this type of coins, the first Little Kushāṇa King Kidāra. This is analogous to the occurrence of the name of the Ohind king Sāmantadeva on the coins of the Chāhamāna rulers of Delhi and Ajmer, Someśvara and Pṛithvīrāja, although he had ceased to rule long ago.[3] The word *kedara*, therefore, seems to denote the coins of the Karkoṭaka rulers of Kashmir bearing the name Kidāra or its abbreviations. It is interesting to note in this connection that on the copper coins of Jayāpīḍa, the patron of our poet, we find *ke* as an abbreviation for *Kidāra*[4] instead of *ki* found on the coins of other kings.

To borrow thirty copper coins against a pearl-necklace would be tantamount to attaching too high value to the copper coins. In all probability, therefore, the word *kedāra* as used by Dāmodaragupta denoted the electrum coins which were originally meant to pass as genuine gold coins.

Incidentally it may be pointed out that the mention of *kedāra* provides us with an important piece of internal evidence for the lower limit for the date of Dāmodaragupta. Jayāpīḍa-Vinayāditya was the last Kashmirian king on whose money the name Kidāra or its abbreviation occurs. The name disappears after him. This shows that Dāmodaragupta could not have flourished long after the regnal period of Jayāpīḍa and thereby lends support to Kalhaṇa's statement that he was the chief-minister of Jayāpīḍa.

carried the bust of the king facing front with the Brahmi legend *Kidara Kushana Shahi* on the obverse and the fire-altar guarded by two sword-bearing attendants on the reverse. The copper coins bore male bust to left within a beaded circle on the obverse and legend in Brahmi on the reverse.

1. Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India,* pp. 43 ff.
2. Ibid, pp. 43-45; Smith, *IMC,* I, pp. 268-69.
3. Smith, *IMC,* I, pp. 261-62.
4. Ibid, p. 269.

COIN TERMS IN ĀNDHRADEŚA INSCRIPTIONS

V. YASODA DEVI

Medieval Āndhradeśa had enjoyed the paramountcy of the successive dynasties of the Chālukyas of Vengi, the Chālukya-Chōlas, the Kākatīyas, the Reḍḍis and the Rāyas. In this period flourished several subsidiary kingdoms, for instance, the Velanāṇḍu Chōḍas, the Haihayas, the Chagis, the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis, the Koṭas, the Parichchhedis, the Malayas, the Saronāthas, the Chālukyas, the Telugu Pallavas, Matsyas of Oḍḍādi, Gaṅgas of Jantarnāḍu, and the Telugu Choḍas. As coinage was a sign of sovereignty and prosperity, perhaps no ruler, big or petty, let the least opportunity pass by without thereby asserting and signalling his independence by issue of fresh coins. This explains the prevalence of a large variety of coins of precious metals and copper with variations in values, and differences in denominations and nomenclature, issued by the dynasties, major and minor, as seen from the inscriptions in this age.

The standard gold coins were *Māḍa* and *Kāśu*, issued by each one of the Chola kings of the period before A.D. 1070 and the different issues were distinguished in epigraphy by the names of kings prefixed to those coins, e.g., *Rājarāja-māḍai*[1] *Rājendrasolamāḍai*[2], *Madhurāntakadevanmāḍai*[3] etc. Of the fine hoard of 127 gold coins discovered at Dhavaleśvaram[4] (East Godavari District) in 1946, 49 belong to Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja I, bearing his regnal years 33, 34 and 35 corresponding to A.D. 1055, 1056 and 1057, for his coronation was celebrated in A. D. 1022 with the aid of Rājendra I Chola. Of the remaining coins, one set bearing the inscription *Gaṅgaigoṇḍacholan* were issued by Rājendra I bearing his regnal years ranging from 28 to 33 corresponding to A.D. 1040 to 1045. The other set of 46 coins belong to Rājādhirāja I bearing his regnal years 34 to 36 and the inscription on them *Malaināḍu Koṇḍacholan* was his title assumed on the basis of his wars with Kerala on behalf of

1. *AR*, 1925, 104.
2. *AR*, 1925, 203.
3. *AR*, 1938-39, P. 70.
4. *K.A*, Nilkanta Sastri, *The Colas* (2nd Edition), pp. 614-615.

his father Rājendra I[1]. Prof. Śāstri says, "it is not known if these coins which closely follow the fabric of Eastern Chālukya coins were minted for circulation in the Veṅgi country only or went into more general use."[2]

Māḍa, Gadyāna, Kalañju and *Nishka* are all gold[3] coins with weight varying from 58 grammes to 60.1 grammes. *Jayamāḍa, Chāmaramāḍa, Birudumāḍa*[4], *Birudugadya* and *Kulottuṅgagadya* were current in the Velanāṇḍu Choḍa kingdom owing fealty to the Chola and Chālukya-Chola empire. These coins show that the currency system of the Cholas and the new standard was extended into the feudatory provinces and adopted in the Vengi country about A.D. 1000 . *Jayamāḍa* is a victory coin, commemorating some outstanding victory of Gonka I, its originator or the foundation of the Velanāṇḍu Choḍa kingdom. *Birudumāḍa* and *Birudugadya* no doubt signify some top achievements while *Chāmaramāḍa* commemorates coronation ceremony of kings or donation to temples. *Kulottuṅgagadya* is named after emperor Kulottuṅga II.

Tyāgigadya[5] was issued by the Tyāgis or Chāgis of Guḍimeṭṭa the feudatories of the Velanāṇḍu Choḍas. *Birudumāḍa*[6] was current in the Kona Haihaya kingdom in the reign of king Loka (A.D. 1150-68). *Probably Gaṇḍamāḍa*[7] known from a record of Kona Haihaya Satyāditya II (A.D. 1182-1231) had been more popular in the kingdoms to the north of the Godāvari.

Birudugadya, a Velanāṇḍu Choḍa coin was currency in the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi kingdom to the West of the Koṇḍavīḍu range of hills. *Gandhavāraṇa māḍa,* another form of the name being *Gandhahastimāḍa,*[8] was in vogue in the kingdom. Possibly this coin bore the image of mast elephant. *Uttamagaṇḍa* or *Uttamagaṇḍamāḍa*[9] issued probably by

1. [Regnal Years on these coins do not place these coins at distance from the other coins found in the hoard; So both the types may only be attributed to Raja Raja. —*P.L.Gupta.*]
1. *The Colas* (2nd Edition), P. 615.
2. *AR*, 1897, 151; *SII*, VI, 109.
3. *AR*, 1897, 210; Ibid, VI, 170; (A.D. 1195, 3rd year of Kulottunga II).
4. *AR*, 1897, 176; *SII*, VI 137; 188, 189 of 1899: *SII* VI 148, 149.
5. *AR*, 1920, 713; *AR* 1934, PP. 67-68, para 33.
6. *AR*, 1897, 213; *SII* VI, 175, Bapatal.
7. *AR*, 1893, 517; *SII*, IV, 139.
8. *AR*, 1897, 232: *SII* VI, 195, Bapatla.
9. *AR*, 1897, 236: *SII* VI, 199, Bapatla,

king Uttama Bhīmarāja (A.D. 1268-1285) of the Parichchhedis is known from Parichchhedi inscriptions. Gold *Māḍas*[1] are mentioned in a Kōṭa record (A.D. 1263). The coin *Bhujabalamāḍa* of the Kolanu dynasty was after *Bhujabalabhīma*[2] a title of Kāṭayanāyaka (A.D. 1135-51) and Keśavadeva (A.D. 1196-1233) of the Saronāthas.

Padmanidhigaṇḍa is a coin known from the records of the Chālukyas of Elamanchili (Vizagapatam District). Gaṇḍa is same as Gaṇḍamāḍa of the Kona Haihayas, and *Padmanidhi* suggests temple series of coins. Possibly *Śrīmāḍa*[3] belongs to the same category. *Gaṇḍamāḍa* occurs in the records of the Chālukyas of Śrīkūrmam, the Matsyas of Oḍḍādi, the Pallavas of Vīrakūṭa, the Gaṅgas of Jantarnāḍu and the Śilas of Nandāpura. *Penugaṇḍamāḍa*, and *Chirugaṇḍamāḍa*, *Chanugaṇḍamāḍa*, *Noḍukugaṇḍamāḍa*, *Pahiṇḍigaṇḍamāḍa* are mentioned in the records[4] at Simhāchalam of several minor dynasties in southern Kalinga. Of these coins, the prefix to the name of the coin suggests its size or weight and value. *Penu* means big and *Chiru* means comparatively small and possibly *Chanu* is corrupt or colloquial form for *Chinna* meaning small. What *Noḍuku* implies is not clear but *Pahiṇḍi* is same *Pasiṃḍi* that is gold. Likewise, a variety of coins occur with name *Malla*, undoubtedly same as *Gaṇḍa* meaning a wrestler or a hero. *Mallamāḍa*, *Oḍkumallamāḍa*, *Amṛtabhujulamallamāḍa*, *mallanandimāḍa* occur in the records[5] at Simhāchalam. Of these *Oḍku* or *Voḍuku* is same as *Noḍuku* is *Gaṇḍamāḍa*. *Amṛtabhujulamallamāḍa* may be compared with *Sanubhujagaṇḍamāḍa*.[6] Possibly *Mallanandimāḍa* is of temple series like *Padmanidhigaṇḍa Māḍas or Śrimādes*, bearing the figure of the sacred Bull. Besides, *Aubalamāḍas*, *Telikaṭṭagaṇḍamāda*, *Samapadamāḍa*, *archchamāḍa*, *Tyāgimāḍa*, *noḍukumāḍa* are the coins referred to in some records[7] there. Aubala is after a local ruler or god at Ahōbalam, *archchamāḍa* is a temple coin and *Tyāgimāḍa* was a coin of the *Chāgis* current in their kingdom along with *Gandhavāraṇamāḍa*. *Gaṇḍaparkamāḍa*, that is 1/8 of a *Gaṇḍamāḍa* occurs in a record[8] of the Śila-vaṁśis of Nandāpura. *Dīnāra* bearing the name *Gaṇḍa* is known from an epigraph[9] at Simhāchalam.

1. *AR*, 1893, 117; *SII*, IV, 934.
2. *AR*, 1935-36, 243 (Elurupadu); 1893, 530; *SII* V 176.
3. *SII*, VI 817.
4. Ibid, VI, 771, 932, 960, 1195, 1059.
5. Ibid, VI, 751, 752, 896, 845, 1180.
6. Ibid, VI, 884.
7. Ibid, VI, 806, 833, 848, 849, 1166, 1167, 1173.
8. *AR*, 1896, 358; *SII*, V, 1240.
9. *SII*, VI. 987.

The issues *Gaṇḍagōpālamāḍai*[1], *Gaṇḍagopāla pudumāḍai*[2], *Palampullimāḍai*[3], *Palavaṇṇamāḍai*[4] are known from records of the Telugu Pallavas of Nellore. Obviously *Gaṇḍagopālamāḍai* was termed after king of that name issued by him and a fresh issue of it bore the name *Gaṇḍagopālapudumāḍai*. The *Palampullimāḍai* is the coin with old, that is, familiar marks and *Palavaṇṇamāḍai* is coin with common appearance and these two by their names imply the currency of fresh sets of the coins.[5]

Ūramāḍa[6] occurs in a record at Tripurāntakaṁ, belonging to the dynasty of the Nāgas of Nellore. A few gold coins of Kāyastha Ambadeva (A.D. 1273-1335) in the empire of Pratāparūdra of the Kākatīyas are available. Each of them weighs 55 grammes and some of them bear a mark signifying the crown and the legend *Rāyasamu,* and others have the figure of the boar in the centre with two lotuses, and the legend *Eruvadiśāpaṭṭa,* a title of Ambadeva commemorating his destruction of the army of Eruva Mallideva.[7] *Māḍas* occur in a record[8] (A.D. 1304) of Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra Tippayadeva of the Kāyasthas.

The coins *Nellurumāḍai*[9], *Nellurupudumāḍai, Gaṇḍagopālamāḍai*[10], *Gaṇḍagōpālapudumāḍai,* and *Bhujabalamāḍai*[11] were current in the Telugu Choḍa kingdom of Nellore. Among these *Nellūrumāḍai, Nellūrupudumāḍai* occur in the records[12] of king Allutikka (A.D. 1248-1272). Possibly *Nellūrumāḍai* was an earlier coin, and Allutikka called his new coin *Pudumāḍai* and the prefix Nellūru signifies the celebrated capital Nellore. Moreover, the Gaṇḍagopāla coins—*māḍai* and *pudumāḍai* were prevalent in the kingdom. Regarding this *Bhujabalamāḍai,* a coin obviously different from the issue of the same name of the Saronathas or the Kalanu

1. *TTDI*, I, 62 (143. *T.T.*); 74 (652 *T.T.*): 351 of 1928-29; 428 of 1919.
2. *Nell Ins.*, II; *KR*, 56, Pakala.
3. *TTDI*, I (126 *T.T.*), Vijayagandagopala.
4. *AR*, 1922, 433 1939-40, 138; Karandai (Ceyyer Taluk, N.A. Dt.) 20th year of Vijayagandagopala.
5. *AR*, 1919, 441.
6. *AR*, 1905, 180, 275.
7. *IA*, 56 PP. 191-192; *Proceedings of 4th Oriental Conference,* P 1 49.
8. *Mack. Ms.* 15-4-48.
9. *AR*, 1919, 356; *SII*, XII, 218, Conjeevaram, 20th year of Kopperunjinga. Belonging to the Nagas of Nellore.
10. *AR*, 1903, 207; *SII*, VIII, 506; Gudimallam. 13th year of Rajaraja III. Belongs to the reign of Tikka I Gandagopala.
11. *AR*, 1907, 586; 36 of 1919; 311 of 1929.
12. *AR*, 1919, 441. His records at Attur and Tiruppalaivanam.

rulers swaying the Goddavari deltaic area. It is probably after *Bhuja-balavīra*[1], a title of the Telugu Cholas of Nellore e.g., Bhujabalavīra Nallasiddhanadevachōla Mahārāja (A.D. 1159). *Bhujabalavīramāḍai*[2], *Madhurāntakamāḍai*, *Gaṇḍagōpālapudumāḍai* were current in the southern parts of the Telugu Choḍa kingdom e.g., Chingleput District and the adjoining districts.

Besides, *Perumāndimāḍa* is known from a record (A.D. 1217) at Rajahmundry. Probably it is named after a local chieftain bearing that name. *Rājarājamāḍa* occurs in a record[3] (A.D. 1049) of an Eastern Chālukya prince. The coin *Rūkamāḍa* is known from a record of the 18th year of Rājarāja, at Kollūru. Probably this is a new coin combining the two different coins *rūka* and *māḍa*. Simply Māḍas are mentioned in records[1] of the Cholas at Yogimallavaram, Telugu Pallavas at Tirumala, Śilavamśis of Nandāpura at Nārāyaṇpuram and the Telugu Pallavas of Nellōre. 3/4 *māḍai*, and 1/2 *māḍai* are known; the former from records of the Telugu Pallavas of Nellore and the latter from a record[5] of Rājarāja dated in his 11th year at Gudimallam. 1/4 *māḍai* occurs in the records of the Telugu Choḍas of Nellore.[6]

As for the coin *gadya* or *gadyāna*, *Rājanārāyaṇagadya*[7] is known from a record (A.D. 1130) at Kollūru, another at Simhāchalam. It is named after *Rājanārāyaṇa*, a Chālukya and Chālukya-Chola title of Rājarāja. I. *Gōkarṇagadya* occurs in a record (A.D. 1205) at Velpunūru and *Kēsarigadya*[8] from a record (A.D. 1238) at Bhaṭṭiprōlu. Either Gokarṇa was a local ruler or the coin refers to Gokarṇa, a pilgrim centre. *Kēsarigadya* has the lion emblem and was current in the Kākatīya kingdom and belonged to the reign of Gaṇapatideva. *Kēsaraigadya* reminds us of the *Gandhavāraṇa-māḍa* with the elephant emblem of the Koṇḍapaḍumaṭis, the feudatories of the Kākatīyas. It is issued from mint under royal authority and happens to be the first epigraphical confirmation of the Kākatīya coinage

1. *AR*, 1939-40, 12, Dongalasani; 67 of 1938-39; 19th year Kulottunga III.
2. *AR*, 1938-39, P. 70.
3. *AR*, 1894, 221; *SII*, V, 520; Tiruvaiyaru.
4. *AR*, 1893, 478; *SII* V 66; Chalukya Bhimavaram; *TTDI*, 24, (382 G.T.), Kulottunga I; 67 (III T.T.) Vijayagandagopala; 78 (433 T.T.).
5. *AR*, 1903, 207; *SII*, VIII, 506.
6. *Nell Ins.* I, Gudur 39. Kistnapatam (A.D. 1256).
7. *SII*, VI 1205.
8. *AR*, 1938-39, 295.

with lion emblem[1] *Vaṃśavardhanagadya*[2] is known from a record (A.D. 1277) at Niḍadavole. *Bīragoṭṭapugadya,*[3] obviously of the Pallavas of Vīrakūṭa, named after their capital, occurs in a record at Simhāchalam. *Gadya,* and *Eragadya* i.e. 1/2 *gadya* are known from another record of the Pallava dynasty. The former also as *Gadyāṇa* appears in the Matsya records[4] e.g. a grant at Choḍavaram, and also in a record[5] of the Sāluvas of Tirupati. The Coin *Kanchugaddena*[6] occurs in a record.

The *Chakram* coin bearing the emblem *Chakram,* probably, of temple series is known from a record (A.D. 1531) at Alavulapāḍu. Another *Chakram* coin with the emblem of *Varāha* (or boar) occurs in a late record[7] in Udayagiri village (Nellore district). *Chakravarāha* or *chakram pon* coins[8] constitute a part of Vijayanagar coinage with a variety of a dozen emblem on the obverse, though the royal seal was always the boar.[9]

The coin *Kalañju* is known from the early Pallava epigraph (A.D. 834)[10] at Tiruchānūr, chola inscriptions there, Yādavarāya records, and several records of the Telugu Pallavas of Nellore. *Nishka* occurs in the records of the Chālukyas of Śrī-Kūrmam.

Kāsu, a gold coin was worth half of *Māḍa*[11] in the 11th century, e.g., *Rājarājankāsu* is known from a record. (A.D. 1054)[12]. This coin Kāsu appears frequently in the records[13] of the Telugu Pallavas of Nellore. The usage of the term *Palamgāsu* i.e. of Kāsu in records[14] apparently

1. *AR*, 1938-39, II, P. 65, para 16.
2. *AR*, 1940-41, 472.
3. *SII*, VI, 1182.
4. *Mack. Mss.*, 15, 6, 26; no. 61.
5. Ibid, 15, 4, 4; P. 235.
6. *SII*, VI, 637.
7. *Nell. Ins.*, III, Udayagiri, 22; Udayagiri village.
8. *TTDI*, IV, 80, (549 T.T.) (A.D. 1536), 113, (552 T.T.), (A.D. 1538); V, 92 (415 T.T.), (A.D. 1469).
9. *Vijayanagar Sex. Centenary Volume,* (1936), P. 117.
10. *TTDI*, no. 1 (219 G.T.); 12 (232 G.T.); 14 (17 T.T.); 17 (212 G.T.); 88 (17 T.T.); 118 (221 G.T.); 129 (240 G.T.); 140 (243 G.T.); 145 (392 G.T.).
11. *SII*, III, P. 136.
12. *AR*, 1912, 141; *SII*, VII.
13. *AR*, 1912, 302; *TTDI* I, 61 (127 G.T.), 4th year of Vijayagandagopala; of the Cholas at Tirukkoyillur (S.S. District) 246; 248 of 1934-35 dated in 10th and 26th year of Kulottunga; of the Rayas, *TTDI*, I, 234 (109 T.T.).
14. *AR*, 1909, 333.

implies a new issue of it called *Pudukāsu*. From the reign of Kulōttuṅga III Kāsu became debased and denoted a copper coin. The coins *pon* and *Rēkhaipon* occur in records[1] (A.D. 1534) at Tirumala. Rākhaipon[2] is also mentioned simply as *Rēkhai* in records at Tirupati. *Pon* also appears in the records of the Telugu Chōḍas of Nellore. *Honnu*[3] occurs in records at Tirumala. 3/4 *Rēkhaipon* is known from records[4].

The coin *Paṇam* recurs often in the records[5] of the period. *Palampuligaipaṇam,* that is, *Panam* with old marks, thus indicating a fresh impression of it, appears in the records[6] of the Telugu Pallavas of Nellore and Telugu Cōḍas of Nellore. *Chakra Paṇam* occurs in Vijayanagar records[7]. *Varāhapaṇam* obviously bearing the boar emblem occurs in records[8] of the Telugu Pallavas of Nellore and the coins *Varāha* or *Varāhan* and *gaṭṭivarāhan* are known from the records[9] (A.D. 1535) and (1546) and several others at Tirumala. Possibly *gaṭṭivarāhan* is same as *Karakuvarāha,* and an equivalent of *Chakravarāha Rēkhaivarāham* occurs in Vijayanagar epigraphs at Tirupati.[10] *Matsya Paṇam* and 1/4 *Paṇam* are known[11] and bear on the obverse the double fish emblem of the Matsya dynasty of Oḍḍādi. In the records[12] of the Sāluvas of Tirupati (A.D. 14th and 15th centuries) the coin *paṇam* occurs frequently.

The coin *Chinnam* is known from records of Gonka II. It is same as *Fanam*. It finds place in the records[13] of the Koṭas, the Malayas and

1. *TTDI*, I, 211 (26 G.T.) (A.D. 1442); IV, 34, (339 T.T.) (A.D. 1534); 29 (49 T.T.); 30 (447 T.T.); 23 (83 T.T.); 48 (480 T.T.) (A.D. 1457).
2. *TTDI*, V 99 (354 T.T.), 100 (367 G.T.), 118 (401 G.T.).
3. *TTDI*, I 192 (188 T.T.), 209 (100 T.T.).
4. *TTDI*, V; (364 G.T.) (A.D. 1468).
5. Ibid, I, 69 (139 T.T.); 131 (177 T.T.); 152 (138 T.T.); 168 (16 T.T.); 184 (61 T.T.) (A.D. 1380); 186 (103 A. T.T.); 191 (340 T.T.); III, 2 (266 T.T.) (A.D. 1504); 24 (101 T.T.) (A.D. 1512); 107 (156 G.T.)-narapanam (A.D. 1510); 329 of 1939-40, Kovur (Chingleput Dt.) 3rd year of Vijayagandagopala.
6. *AR*, 1921, 40.
7. *TTDI*, I, 212 (47 G.T.) A.D. 1445.
8. *TTDI*, I, 68 (137 T.T.), Vijayagandagopala; 69 (139 T.T.); 70 (141 T.T.); 79 (221 T.TT.).
9. *EI*, XV PP 8-25, Srisailam plates (A.D. 1466) of Virupaksha; *TTDI*, III, 80 (578 T.T.) (A.D. 516); I, 192 (188 T.T.); IV, 122 (587 T.T.); 236 (171 T.T.); V, 75 (653 T.T.) (A.D. 1546); 77 (651 T.T.) (A.D. 1546).
10. *TTDI*, I, 192 (188 T.T.); 209 (100 T.T.).
11. *Proceedings 4th Oriental Conference*, PP. 171-174.
12. *Mack. Mss.*, 15-4-4, P. 235.
13. *SII*, IV, 934; V, 66, Halukya Bhimavaram; *Mack Mss.* 15-6-21.

the Matsyas and the Telugu Chōḍas of Nellore. A record (A.D. 1277) at Niḍadavole[1] mentions two *Chinnams*. *Nagartila chinnamu*[2], that is, *cinnamu* on *nagarti* i.e., perhaps a large quantity occurs in the record at Rajahmundry of Malayamu Gaṇapati. *Peddachinnamu* (large *fanam*) occurs in the Gaṇapeśvaram record[3] issued towards the close of the rule of the Velanāṇḍu Choḍa dynasty. *Oḍkuprāntamalachinnamu*[4] occurs in a record at Simhāchalam. 1/2 *Chinnam,* and 1/4 *Chinnam* occur in the records[5] of the Telugu Choḍas of Nellore. e.g. the Kishṭnapaṭam record (A.D. 1256). *Pasiṃḍi* and *Tirupahiṇḍi* referring to gold coins, occur in the records of the Telugu Chōḍas of Pottapi and the Dendulur record[6] of the Chālukyas of Niḍadavole respectively.

Silver coinage was scarce compared with the abundance of the gold coinage of the period. *Ṭankas*[7] are silver coins mentioned in a record (A.D. 1531) at Bhīmavaram. *Veṇḍiṭanka* (A.D. 1349) *Allāḍaveṇḍiṭanka, sonnaṭanka, Venḍialayṭanka, kāṭapasāniṭanka* and *sasukāni ṭanka* are known from several records[8] at Simhāchalam. The term *Veṇḍiṭanka*[9] implies its silver make, *Allāḍaveṇḍiṭanka* is probably the silver coin issued by Allāḍa Reḍḍi of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Rajahmundry. *Sonnaṭanka,* like *Rūkamāḍa* possibly combined the gold coin and the silver coin in its name. *Veṇḍialayiṭanka* is possibly same as *Allāḍaveṇḍiṭanka*. *Sasukāṇi-ṭanka*[10] appears also as *Bangara Sasukānivaḍi* in a record[11] at Simhāchalam, *Saskāṇi-ṭanka*[12] in another record of that place and *Svastulāniṭanka* in a record[13] at Panchadhārala. Mostly this coin occurs in the records of the Chālukyas of Elamanchili and the Matsyas of Oḍḍādi. It is significant that *Sasukāṇi* is the name of coins of Delhi Sultans[14] of the Khilji and the Tughlak dynasties. As silver coinage in medieval Āndhradeśa

1. *AR*, 1940-41, 472.
2. *AR*, 1893, 506; *SII*, V, 16; 117 of 1917.
3. *EI*, III, 15; Kakatiya Ganapati.
4. *SII*, VI, 885.
5. *Nell. Ins.*, II, Nell. 31; Gudur 39.
6. *AR*, 1902, 112, 113.
7. *AR*, 1893, 467-B; *SII*, V, 45 Chalukya Bhimavaram; "*Ta*" for *tankas*.
8. *SII*, VI, 808, 799, 806, 907, 1056, 807, 844, 919.
9. *SII*, VI, 1013, 1021, 1024, 1043, 1048, 1057, 1069, 1073, 718.
10. *SII*, VI, 1019, 1050, 1070, 1100.
11. *SII*, VI, 946.
12. Ibid, VI, 699.
13. Ibid, VI, 666.
14. I owe this information to Dr. P.L. Gupta.

appears seldom earlier than the 14th century and more over largely confined to Southern Kalinga connoting the north-eastern most parts of the country, where the infiltration of the Muslim influence consequent on frequent invasions was most tangible, possibly it owed its origin to Alauddīn Khilji, or Muhammad bin Tughlaq or Firoz Shah Tughlaq. The minor dynasties in the area had come frequently in collision with the Muslim rulers of Bengal as well as Delhi, championing the cause of the Eastern Gaṅga emperors, their suzerains. In fact the dynasties[1] of the Chālukyas of Elamanchili and Śrīkūrmam owed their exit to the expeditions of the Muslim generals. Hence under these political conditions, the silver coins in general and *Sasukāṇi* had become popular currency along with the gold *māḍas* and *gadyas* in the country.

Rūka, a popular silver coin in the country appears in the records of Choḍa II of the Velanandu Choḍas, the Chāgis, the Kotas, the Matsyas, the Śilāvamśis of Nandāpura, and the Telugu Choḍas. *Rūka* and *Gokarṇasingarūka* with the lion emblem, are mentioned in records[2] of the Telugu Choḍas of Kandūru in Telingāṇa and the former in the Chintapalle record[3] (A.D. 1240) of Chāgi Gaṇapaya and Dora III (A.D. 1230-37).

The coins *Vīsa, Kesarivīsa, aḍḍuvu, k̄esariaḍḍuvu, pādika,* and *Paraka* occur in the records of the Koṭa, the Malayas and the Telugu Choḍas of Pottapi and Kondūru. *Vīsa* in *Gadyāna* is known from a record[4] in Ongole Taluk (Guntur district). *Mūlavīsa*[5] appears in a record at Tripurāntakam of the Nāgas of Nellore. *Dalavīsa*[6] occurs in a record of the Telugu Choḍas of Hemavati. *Vīsa* and *Aravīsa* i.e. 1/2 *vīsa* prevailed in the Gona kingdom of Vardhamānapura[7] (Nalgonda district). *K̄esarivīsa* is known from a record[8] of Koṭa Gaṇapati at Nādeṇḍla. *Aḍḍuvu*[9] occurs in the records of the Telugu Choḍas of Koṇidena.

1. *JAHRS*, XX, V. Yasoda Devi, *The History of Andhra Country* (A.D. 1000-1500), *subsidiary dynasties,* XI, PP 62, 66.
2. *Telingana Inscriptions,* Miscellaneous No. 6.
3. *AR*, 1934-35, 277.
4. *Nell Ins.*, II, Ongole 82.
5. *AR*, 1905, 180, 275.
6. *AR*, 1917, 8.
7. Gona Buddha Reddi, *Ranganatha Ramayana* (Andhra University Series), P. 155; *visa* in Kanduru Choda epigraph, *Telingana Ins.*, I. Miscellaneous 18; and in Chagi Chintapalle epigraph (A.D. 1240), 277 of 1934-35).
8. *AR*, 1915, 391.
9. *AR*, 1899, 191, 192, 193; *SII*, VI, 637, 638, 639.

Aḍḍugu of the Koṭa record[1] (A.D. 1269) at Yenamadala is same as Aḍḍuvu of Chāgi records. *Kesariaḍḍugu*[2] and *Kesarivīsa*[3] possibly with the lion emblem on the obverse as in the *Kesarigadya* of the Kākatīyas, are probably Kākatīya coins. There is a village Kesaripāḍu and *Kesari-pāṭikolate* was the standard measure in the period.[4] *Pādika*[5] occurs in the records of the Koṇidenacholas and *Paraka*[6] and *Parakavīsāmu* appear in a record at Rajahmundry of Malayamu Gaṇapati (*c.*A.D. 1240-81). The coin *hāga*[7] is known from a record of the Telugu Choḍas of Hemavati.

The copper coinage owing Muslim origin comprised of *Duggāni*,[8] *dabbu*[9], *kāni*[10], and *Damḍi*[11] and these terms occur in the records of the Telugu Choḍas of Pottapi and the Matsyas of Oḍḍadi. Of these *Duggāni* connoted 6 pice, *Ḍabbu* denoted 4 pice, *Kāni* consisted of 3 pice, *aragāni* or yegāni 2 pice and *Damḍi* one pice denoting the smallest coin. As time passed on, *Kāsu* came to be applied commonly for *Damḍi*.

Regarding the relative value of the various coins, *Māḍa* has its derivation from *Māṣa* in Sanskrit and had been most popular in the Telugu country and influenced the Tamil coinage[12]. It is equivalent to a *nishka* and worth 1/2 *varāha* i.e., 1/2 *pagoda,* that is two *rupees.* It may be noted that in general, *māḍalu,* the plural for *māḍa*, meant money in common usage. In some instances, the value is specified e.g. *Palampuli-māḍai* was equivalent to $7\frac{1}{2}$ *varāhapaṇam*[13]. The coin *Gadyāṇa* has been defined as an obsolete coin equal to 3/4 of *paikamu, dināru, varāha*[11]. *Chakravarāha* denoted 4 rupees; obviously the same value *gaṭṭivaraha* and *karakuvarāha* possessed. The value of ordinary *Chakram* coin was 1/16 of a *pagoda* or *varāha.* *Pon* is a gold coin of variable value

1. *AR*, 1893, 118; *SII*, IV 935.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Ibid, 391 of 1915.
4. *Bharati*, I, no. 2, PP 29-31.
5. *AR*, 1899, 191, 192, 193 *SII*, VI, 637, 638, 639.
6. *AR*, 1893, 506: *SII*, V, 116; 117 of 1917-*Paraka* in Ch'ntapalle ep'graph (A.D. 1240); 277 of 1934-35.
7. *AR*, 1917, 8; *Rajarajanarendrapattabhishekasanadka*,(Rajahnudry), P, 185, fn.
8. *Duggadi, Mack. Mss*, 15-6-26, 61.
9. *Nell Ins.*, II, Ongole 5 Alluru.
10. *AR*, 1899, 191, 192, 193 *SII*, VI, 637, 638, 639; In Telugu 1/4 anna piece.
11. *IA*, XXV, P 321, no 25.
12. *TTDI*, I, P. 89; T.T. 126
13. *Hyd. Arch. Series*, 13; *T lingana Ins.* II, P 203.

and *honnu*[1] and *varāha* are equivalent to it. As for the coin *Paṇam*, Vijñāneśvara says[2] that it denoted 1/8 of a *māḍa* and in records '*pa*' is the shortened form for *Paṇam*. Its value seems to be 15$\frac{3}{5}$ of a pagoda from a Vijayanagar record at Tirumala.[3] The value of the coin *Chinnam* is 1/4 of a *māḍa*[4] and 1/8 of a pagoda and worth 7 annas. The silver coinage *Ṭanka* was valued at 48 or 50 *Kanis* and *Sasakani* was 6 *kani* coin i.e. 1/8 *ṭanka*[5]. *Sasakāni* is a coin of the value of about 8 pice[6]. The value of *Rūka* varied from 2 annas to 4 annas and even to 5 annas and 8 pice. But generally it applied to 2 anna piece. Usually *Rūkalu* i.e. the plural of *Rūka* was used for money in general (cf. *māḍalu*[7]). The *vīsāmu* was valued at 1/16 e.g. *gadyāṇāna* and vīsāmu represented i.e. 1/16 of a *gadyāṇa*.[8] Usually it denoted 1/16 of a *rupee*. *Paraka*'s value was 1/8 of a *rupee*[9]. The coin *hāga* was valued at 1/4 *paṇam* or 1/256 of a *nishka*[10] .

1. *TTDI*, I, 192 (188 T.T.) (A.D. 1429); 209 (100 T.T.) (A.D. 1443).
2. Manchana, *Vijnanesvaram*, Prayaschitta Kanda, verse 8.
3. *TTDI*, IV, 149 (21-A.TT.).
4. *Nell Ins.*, III, Sulurpet 7. Sulurpet.
5. I owe this information to Dr. P. L. Gupta.
6. C.P. Brown, *Telugu-English Dictionary*.
7. Ibid.
8. *Nell. Ins.* III, Ongole 82.
9. *AR*, 1917, 117
10. *Rajarajanarendra pattabhishekasanchika*, P. 185, fn.

NIGAMA AND SRENI SEALS : AN APPRAISAL

KIRAN KUMAR THAPLYAL

The institution of guilds, like that of caste, profoundly influenced the socio-economic organizations in ancient India and had its impact on the political life of that period as well. More employment and better utilization of capital, greater facilities for commerce and trade-intercourse, efficiency in crafts and callings and need for legal protection were, to a great measure, responsible for the rise and development of such institutions. The history of guilds can be traced to remote antiquity.[1] They have been frequently referred to in literature, epigraphs and coins. Though it would be rather unavailing to aspire for detailed information about guilds through glyptics, yet these little documents do throw some welcome light on the existence, nature and organization of such institutions.

We may broadly classify the available guild-seals as *Nigama* and *Śreṇi* ones.

Nigama Seals

The *nigama* seals may, on the basis of their legends, be further classified as below :—

1. Seals with the legend nigama or its variants.

A sealing from Hargaon, district Sitapur, (U.P.), and now in Lucknow Museum[2] shows the device of a tree within railing and has the legend *negama* in Mauryan characters (PL. VI. 8). Another sealing from Jhusi, now in Allahabad Museum, has the same device and legend in characters of *c.* second century B.C. along with a *nandipada* symbol.[3]

1. Dr. R.K. Mookerji cites several passages from Vedic literature and infers not only the existence of guilds during the period, but also their commonness (*Local Government in Ancient India,* Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, 1958 pp. 36-44). Dr. R.C. Majumdar, however, is sceptic about such conclusions (*Corporate Life in Ancient India,* 2nd ed. Calcutta, 1922, p. 15 and fn.).
2. No. 56. 55
3. No. J 452

Quite interesting are seals from Rajghat. A sealing found in the course of recent excavations conducted by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, B.H.U[1]., bears the legend *nigamasa* in characters of *c.* first century B.C. A few other sealings from the same site bear the legend *negamasa* or *nigamasa* in early Kushāṇa script.[2] Bhita too has yielded several seals of this variety which, on palaeographic grounds, have been assigned to Kushāṇa or Gupta age. No. 57 in Marshall's list bears the legend *n(ai)gama*,[3] while no. 58[4] and 60[5] have *nigamasa* and no. 59[6] simply (*nigama*). All these are datable to the Kushāṇa age. Sealings no. 61A[7] and 62B[8] of the same list, ascribable to the Gupta period, bear the legend *nigamasya*.

2. Legend nigama combined with the name of a place.

A terracotta seal die from Bhita bears, in reverse letters, the legend *Śahijitiye nigamaśa* in Mauryan characters[9] (**PL. VI. 9**). Spooner unearthed a seal at Basarh with a legend tentatively read by him as *Makkutali (ni) gamasya.*[10] The evidence of these two would suggest that certain *nigamas* were named after their localities. We may, in passing, note that certain coins from Taxila also bear the legend *nigama* or its variants along with other legends which, in all probability, refer to localities.[11]

3. Legend nigama combined with another impression.

A Rajghat clay lump in the Department of A.I.H., Culture and Archaeology, B.H.U.,[12] shows a device apparently something like a domed

1. No. 668.
2. XXIII, P. 411.
3. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1911-12, p. 56, pl. XIX.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid, pp. 31 and 47, pl. XVII, no. 1. According to Marshall, this can palaeographically be dated to the 4th or 3rd century B.C. and is the earliest of the *nigama* seals unearthed so far. The house in the foundation of which this seal was unearthed may, in his opinion, mark the site of the *nigama* (Ibid, p. 31)
10. Ibid, 1913-14, p. 127, no. 64A, pl. XLVI.
11. Cunningham, A., *Archaeological Survey Report* XIV, p. 20; Allan, J., *BM CAI*, 9. Cunningham, A., *Archaeological Survey Report* XIV, P. 20; Allan, J., p. cxxvi
12. No. 483.

structure[1] and the legend *nigama* in Gupta characters. It has another impression which probably records a personal name (**PL. VI. 10**). Likewise, another sealing in the Allahabad Museum[2] has two impressions, one bearing a domed structure with a legend *nigama* and the other a *chakra* flanked by two *śaṅkhas* and the legend *Jayamitaḥ* (**PL. VI. 11**). Still another from the same site now in Bharat Kala Bhawan collection has the legend *nigamasya* and another impression bearing the legend *Bharatasya* (**PL. VI. 12**). According to V.S. Agrawala, half-a-dozen sealings from Rajghat bear the legend *nigama* and record the names of individuals.[3] It is interesting to note that on one lump from Rajghat, now in the Allahabad Museum,[5] we have two impressions; one bears a domed structure and the other legend *nigamasya* in early Gupta characters while the other has the legend *amātya*. Similarly, another lump from the site has identical device and legend, though partially preserved (**PL. VI. 13**) and a second impression (not to be seen on the illustration) bearing the legend *Daṇḍanāyaka Anuttarasya*. Motichandra speaks of a lump from the same site having impressions of *nigama* and *Janapada* seals.[7]

4. Sreshthi-nigama.

Seventeen sealings bearing the legend *śreshṭhi-nigamasya* in Gupta characters were unearthed in course of Spooner's excavations at Basarh.[5]

1. V.S. Agrawala identifies this type of device as 'granary' (*JNSI*, XXIII, P. 411). It apparently gives the appearance of a *stupa*, but perhaps stands for a money-chest as is also the case with the *sreshthisartthavaha-kulika-nigama* sealings from Basarh, discussed below.
2. No. 39.
3. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 411. He, however, does not specify as to where these seals have been deposited and we are not sure whether these include the two we have referred to above. Motichandra has also made reference to this type of sealings (*Kasi ka Itihasa*, pp. 91-92).
4. No. R-190.
5. Kala Bhavan, no. 6376.
6. *Kasi Ka Itihasa*, p. 91.
7. *ASIAR*, 1913-11 124-25, nos 8B, 36, 53, 282, 286, 404, 612, 629, 631-35, 648, 778, and 808. These sixteen were from the same die. No. 270A in the same list is from another die. Spooner illustrates only one, viz no. 808 (*Ibid*, pl. L.). The device, according to Spooner, "appears as a hemispherical *stupa* from the top of which project three branches, which make the whole readily mistakable as an urn or *kalasa* when the impression is not clear. The *stupa* rests on a platform which is drawn as an apparent attempt at perspective, and above which to right and left of the *stupa* are two round bosses whose meaning is unknown." (Ibid, p.124)

These bear additional impressions which appear to record names of certain individuals,[1] probably the *śreshṭhis* themselves. One more specimen of *śreshṭhi-nigama* sealing has been discovered in the course of recent excavations at the same site.[2]

5. Kulika-nigama

A sealing bearing the legend *kulika-nigama* was unearthed by Marshall at Bhita.[3] Seals of this type are conspicuous by their absence at Basarh; nor is their find reported from other sites.

6. Sreshthi-Kulika-nigama

Basarh has also yielded sealings bearing the legend *śreshṭhi-kulika-nigama*.[4]

7. Sreshthi-Sartthavaha-Kulika-Nigama

Sealings bearing the above legend and *stūpa*-like or money-chest device have been found in abundance at Basarh (**PL. VII. 1**[5]; **PL. VII. 2**[6]; **PL. VII. 3**[7]). As many as 274 were found in excavations conducted by Bloch[8]; a few were brought to light in course of Spooner's excavations at this site[9] while one was unearthed very recently.[10] These seal-impressions are combined with others on lumps of clay giving names of private individuals (**PL. VII. 3**). A sizeable number of these individuals are distinguished as *kulikas*[11] *prathama-kulikas*[12], *sārtthavāhas*[13] or *śreshṭhis*.[14] In one case the legend *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* and the stamp of office of *yvarājapādīya-kumārāmātya* occur on the same lump.[15]

1. Ibid., 124.
2. Dev, K., and Misra, V.K., *Vaisali Excavations*, 1950, p. 56.
3. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 56, no. 56A. pl. XIX.
4. Ibid, 1903-04, p. 110, no. 28. The device has been described by Bloch as an 'hemispherical object, perhaps money-chest' (Ibid).
5. Unearthed in recent excavations at this site conducted by the Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Bihar Government, Patna, and now in its collection.
6. No. 18650 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. This was discovered in course of Bloch's excavations at this site in 1903-04 excavations.
7. No. 18625 in Indian Museum collection obtained in Bloch's excavations (1903-04)
8. *ASIR*, 1903-04, p. 110, under no. 29; pl. XLI, nos 19, 23, 29, 32, pl. XLII, nos 39, 40, and 46.
9. Ibid, 1913-14, p. 138, nos 273A 274, 276 and 320.
10. Now in the Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Bihar Government, Patna.
11. The names of a large number of *kulikas* occur (Ibid, 1903-04, pp. 114-116).
12. e.g. *prathama-kulika* Hari and *prathama-kulika* Ugrasimha (Ibid, p. 117)
13. The name of only one *sartthavaha,* Dodda, occurs.
14. The names of two *sreshthis* occur, viz. Shashthidatta and Sridasa (Ibid, p. 118)
15. Ibid, p. 107, no. 4, pl. XL, 10.

8. Sreshthi-Sartthavaha-Prathama-Kulia-Nigama

A unique sealing unearthed in recent excavations at Basarh and in the collection of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar Govt. Patna[1], shows a stūpa-like device and the above mentioned legend in Gupta characters (Pl. VII. 4).

We may now proceed to discuss the significance of various terms occurring on these seals and sealings.

Nigama

The term *nigama* also occurs in literature (discussed below), inscriptions[2] and coins.[3] The *Amarakośa* treats *nigama* and *vaṇika* as synonymous terms.[4] Viśvarūpa describes *nigama* as association of the *sārttha-vāhas* and persons following similar professions.[5] Aparārka defines it as association of persons of different *jātis* who go to different lands for commercial purposes.[6] The *Shaṭtriṁśanmata,* curiously enough, refers to *nigama* as people following Vedic tradition[7] while *Mitākshara* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (II, 192) speaks of *nigama* as a body of people e.g. Pāśupatas who do not accept the authority of the Vedas.[8] Kātyāyana, as quoted in the *Shaṭtriṁśanmata* collates *nigama* with numerous bodies of the town.[9] The commentary Bālaṁbhaṭṭi explains a *nigama* in *Yājñavalkya* (II, 192) as *nana-paurasamūhaḥ* i.e. aggregations of the manifold citizens[10]. Nārada also renders the term *naigama* as *pauraḥ* i.e. the body of citizens[11]. The *Vivādaratnākara* likewise, renders the term *naigama* as *pauraḥ* i.e. the body of citizens.[12] Motichandra brings forth

1. No. 2731 G
2. e.g. *nigama* of Karahakata (Cunningham, A, *Stupa of Bharhut,* no. 16); *nigama* of Dhanyakataka, Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmasastra,* III, p. 159 fn).
3. They bear the legend *nigama* or *negama* on one side and some words like Talima (ta), Dojaka etc. on the other. Cunningham A. *CAI* p. 63; Allan, J., *BMCAI* pp. 214-15, pl. XXI,
4. *Amarakosa* II, 9.98
5. On *Yajnavalkya-smriti,* II, 192, *sartthavahadi-samuho nigamah*
6. Ibid, *saha desahtara vanijyartham ye nana jatiya adhigachchhanti te nigamah.*
7. *Paurusheyataya Vedam pramanyam* (*Ved? pramanyam?*) *pravadanti ye tesham Vaiseshikadinam naigamakhya prakirtyate,* as quoted in Kane, op. cit., III, p. 487.
8. *Naigamah ye Vedasyapta-pranitatvena pramanyamich chhanti pasupatadayah* cf. also Shah, K.T., *Ancient Foundations of Economics,* Bombay, 1957, P. 59 n.
9. *Nana paurasamajastu naigamakhyah prakircitah,* vide Kane, op. cit., III, p. 487.
10. Vide Bhandarkar, D.R. *Carmichael Lectures of Ancient Indian History.* p. 175.
11. Ibid, p. 175.
12. Ibid, pp. 174-75.

an important evidence of Jain *Bṛihatkalpasūtra-bhāshya* (*śloka* 1091)[1]. The commentator Malayagiri explains the term *nigama* as an appellation of a locality where persons following identical trade resided in groups.

The various references cited above show that *nigama* and its variants were used in more than one sense[3]. *Naigama* would thus variously mean (a) traders (b) those residing in the cities and (c) those who followed or did not follow Vedic traditions. *Nigama* would then mean (1) association of traders (i.e. guild) or (2) town or (3) Vedic or non-Vedic traditions. The last of these interpretations can outright be excluded in the context of seals and coins.

Modern writers, too, on the evidence of these early texts and commentaries, interpret the term *nigama* occurring on coins and seals differently. Some of them subscribe to the view that the word *nigama* should be taken in the sense of a city[4]; others, however, interpret *nigama* as a guild[5]. In the present context, we feel disposed to agree with the latter view as the word *nigama* on the seals occurs repeatedly with *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha* and *kulika,* singly or jointly—terms which, as explained below, refer to the people engaged in banking, trading or manufacturing business. The interpretation of *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* as "seal of the locality where *śreshṭhis, sartthavāhas* and *kulikas* resided" would be rather curious. It has been argued with some force that these seals belonged to a city jointly administered by the *śreshṭhis, sārtthavāhas*

1. Vide, *Kasi Ka Itihasa,* p. 92.
2. *Nigama noma yatra naigamah vanikaviseshastesham vargah samuho vasati,* Ibid.
3. Dr. K. T. Shah pertinently remarks "The variation in meaning seems to be due to efflux of time centuries-during which these several bodies hanged their composition and functions; or alternately, the Digest compilers kept the traditional term without being quite sure of their exact significance" *Ancient Foundations of Economics,* Bombay, 1957, p. 59 fn.
4. Bhandarkar, D.R. op. cit., pp. 174-78; Majumdar, R.C., *Corporate Life in Ancient India,* p. 44; Marshall J., *Taxila,* I, p. 27; also Maity, S.K., *Economic Life in the Gupta Period,* pp. 156-57; Sankrityayan, R., *Puratattva Nibandhavali,* p. 15.
5. Bloch, T., *ASIAR*- 1903-04, p. 104; Spooner, D.B., Ibid, 1913-14; Buhler, G., *Indian Palaeography* (Reprinted Calcutta, 1959) p. 24; Cunningham A., *ASR,* XIV, p. 20 ('trade token or coin of commerce'): Allan, J. *MCAI* p. CXXVI; Mookerji, R.K., op. cit, p. 112; Saletore, R.N., *Life in the Gupta Age,* Bombay, 1943, p. 367; Dikshitar, V.R.R., *Gupta Polity,* Madras 1952, p. 268.

and *kulikas*[1]. In that case we have to think of some cities which were administered only by the *śreshṭhis* and others only by the *kulikas* and still others by the *śreshṭhis* and *kulikas* jointly, for as already stated, we have seals bearing legends variously as *śreshṭhi-nigama, kulika-nigama* and *śreshṭhi-kulika-nigama*. There is no denying that Damodarpur copper plates have unmistakable evidence of a *nagara śreshṭhin,* a *sārtthavāha* and a *prathama-kulika* serving in the advisory council of the city headquarters of the district officer. But then they were not the governors but rather advisers. We are of the opinion that it was because of their importance as being representatives of the guilds that they became members of the advisory council. Be it also noted that a reference to these in the council is to be met with only in matters involving economic issues, viz. sale of land.

As regards the anomaly of various interpretations even in early literature, we venture to make some suggestions. In our opinion, the word *nigama* primarily designated a corporation of people in the economic field. Since in ancient India, and even today, people professing the same trade lived or congregated in one locality, the locality itself began to be designated as *nigama.* We may go a step further and suggest that, as the localities of traders and merchants were generally in towns, the towns themselves came to be styled *nigamas.*

Sreshṭhi

We have already referred to the seals containing the word *śreshṭhi* along with *nigama*[3] as also the two *śreshṭhis*-Shahaṭhidatta and Śrīdāsa whose seals have been stamped together with the seal of *śreshṭhi-sārttha-vāha-kulika-nigama.*[4] Also we have certain seals bearing the names of individual *śreshṭhis* or their sons. One bone seal from Ahichchhatra cylindrical in shape, and now in the Antiquity Section of the Archaeological Survey of India[5] has a two line legend : (i) *Sodikaye,* (*ii*) *Seṭhiputasa*, Sodika, son of a *śreshṭhi*'. A sealing from Bhita[6] bears the legend *śreshṭhi Jayavasudaḥ.* A copper seal from Kauśāmbī in the

1. Bhan'arkar, D.R., op cit, p. 171.
2. *EI*, XV, pp. 130 and 133.
3. Supra, see under nos. 4, 6 and 7.
4. Supra.
5. No. 6900
6. *ASIAR*, 1911-12, page 48, no. 2

Allahabad Museum[1] contains two line legend : (i) *Sreshṭhiputra-Go,* (ii) *pa.*

The *śreshṭhis* in ancient India were, in all likelihood bankers as well as merchants. The term *śreshṭhi* is quite ancient and occurs even in Vedic literature[2]. Early Buddhist literature abounds in references to *setthis* and their fabulous wealth[3]. Epigraphic references to the *śreshṭhis* and their charitable works are plentiful[4]. We have already seen that a *nagara-śreshṭhin* was a member of the Advisory Council of the chief city of a district in the Gupta period[5].

Sartthavaha

Sārtthavāhas or the trading-merchants had more often to conduct long and perilous journeys through forests, barren tracts and was exposed to dangers from robbers[6], wild animals and hazardous waters[7]. These troubles were amply compensated by the profits they made.[8] The importance of a *sārtthavāha* is suggested by such phrases as *sārtthavāha iva vaṇigganṇparivṛitaḥ*, used in stock descriptions of the Buddha[9]. They generally shared perils and sometimes large numbers of them[10] used to travel in caravans under the guidance of their common chief, employing

1. No. K469.
2. e.g. *Aitareya Brahmana,* III, 30. 3; *Taittiriya Brahmana,* III, 1.4.10.
3. e.g. *Jatakas* nos. 382 and 445. The *Chullavagga* mentions *Anathapindika* brother-in-law of a *Setthi* of Rajagriha (VI, 4.1). The *Mahavagga* too has numerous refelarnces to *setthis,* e.g. 1.7.1; VIII. 1.16. See also Mookerji, R.K., op. cit., pp. 46-52.
4. For references see Mookerji, R.K., op. cit., pp. 88-91.
5. See above. From the *Mudrarakshasa* (Act VII), it appears that there was an office like merchant-in-chief of all the towns within a state (*eshasreshthi chandanadasah prithivyam sarvanagara sreshthi padamaropyatam*). There is, however, no reference to such an office either in the inscriptions or seals (cf also Saletor, R.N., op. cit. (1943), p. 368 fn 4). A *Jataka* (no. 445), *Nigrodha Jataka*) however, mentions an officer who was a judge of all merchant-guilds as well as their treasurer.
6. There were villages of robbers (*Jataka* no. 503, *Sattigumba Jataka*). A father warns his son that robbers attacked the caravans either from the front or rear (*Divyavadana,* ed. by E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, p. 4).
7. As regards the dangers of sea-faring, we read of a mother weeping and expressing doubts about the safe return of her son from a sea-voyage (*Divyavadana,* op. cit, pp. 4-5).
8. *Jataka* no. 2 (*Vannupatha Jataka*).
9. Sastri, K.A.N., *Gleanings on Social Life from the Avadanas* p. 28.
10. The *Jatakas* give the conventional no. 500 (see *Jataka* no. 1 (*Apannaka Jataka*), 2 (*Vannupatha Jataka*) 29 (*Kanha Jataka*).

regular professional guards for safe conduct and a desert-pilot[1] while journeying through deserts.

Kulika

Kulika is an alternate reading for *kulaka* in the *Amarakośa*[2] and has been explained by Bhānujī Dīkshita as the foremost person in a company of artisans. Basak[3], Ghoshal[4], Dikshitar[5], Sharma[6] and Sircar[7] also translate the world *kulika* as an 'artisan', while Bloch[8] and Mookerji[9] take it to mean a 'merchant'. R.D. Banerji opines that the term *kulika* is better suited for translation as "bankers" rather than the word *śreshṭhin*.[10] Jayaswal takes it to mean a judge of the *paura* court.[11] Vogel found *kulikas* in the list of officials in the Chamba Grant and was inclined to take them as members of special tribe employed as captains or mercenaries.[12]

The connotation of *kulika* in Chamba records, referred to above, may be a local one and does not suit out context as bankers, traders and captains of mercenaries would make a rather strange company. The occurrence of *kulika* along with *śreshṭhi* (banker) and *śartthavāha* (caravan merchant) all three forming a *nigama* (corporation) shows that it should be taken to refer to a person engaged in economic pursuits. Since *śreshṭhis* of ancient India and even subsequent times till the introduction

1. *Jataka* no. 2 (*Vannupatha Jataka*).
2. *Amarakosa,* II, 10.5, *kulakah syat kulasreshthi*
3. *EI*, XV, p. 131, no. 6.
4. In *Classical Age*, (ed. by R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar), p. 593.
5. *Gupta Polity,* Madras (1952), p. 257.
6. *Sudras in Ancient India,* Patna (1958), p. 237.
7. *Indian Epigraphy,* Delhi (1965), p. 359.
8. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 114.
9. op. cit. p. 112, *LGAI*, p. 112.
10. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas,* Varanasi (1933), p. 86.
11. *Hindu Polity,* Bangalore (1955), p. 266. Bhandarkar derives *kulika* from *kula* and takes *prathama-kulika* as "kulikas who apparently were chief (of *Ganas*) see *Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian History,* p. 171.
12. *Antiquities of Chamba State,* vol. I, Calcutta (1911), p. 127. R. Sankrityayan thinks that in the city council there used to be one *sreshthi* and one *sartthavaha* and other members were called *Sad kulikas* while the chief was styled *prathama-kulika.* This, according to him would explain the comparatively large number of *kulika* seals (*Puratattva Nibandhavali*, Allahabad, Delhi, Bombay, 1958, p. 16, fn).

of European type of banking in India, were both merchants and bankers[1], the *kulika* should, therefore, be taken to refer to an artisan[2].

Basarh yielded seals of *kulikas*[3] (**PL. VII. 5, 6**) as well as chief *kulikas* (**PL. VII. 7**)[4] This clearly indicates a gradation among the *kulikas*. A person named Hari has been called a *kulika* on one sealing[5] (**PL. B, 3,** the larger impression) and a *prathama-kulika* on another[6], if both the sealings belonged to one and the same person, it would show that Hari was a *kulika* and later rose to the rank of a *prathama-kulika.*

The *śreshṭhi-nigama* seals and *kulika-nigama* seals obviously suggest that there were guilds of *śreshṭhis* and *kulikas* manned separately. No *sārtthavāha-nigama* seal has so far come to light. It seems the *sārtthavāhas* did not form a separate guild.[7] The nature of their work involving constant movement did not favour much this type of organization. The *śreshṭhi-kulika-nigama* seals, show that the *śreshṭhis* and *kulikas* joined hands to form a common guild. Later, the *sārtthavāhas* who perhaps did not form a separate guild[8] also joined the *śreshṭhis* and the *kulikas* and thus a *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika nigama* was formed. These *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika nigama* sealings have been dated to the end of the 4th century A.D.[9] In passing, we may add that the *paṁchanekame* of Taxila coins referred to above was likewise a larger body which incorporated five smaller corporations[10]. The *śreshṭhis* and the *sārtthavāhas* were numerically less but more prosperous and influential than the *kulikas* and, therefore, to keep a balance in the representation of the three, in course of time, the *kulikas* came to be represented in the guild by their

1. Cf. also Basham, A.L., *The Wonder that was India,* New York, 1954, p. 222.
2. References to the guilds of artisans occur in the *Raghvuamsa* of Kalidasa (XVI-38) and of masons under the master-builder in *Panchatantra,* vide, Sharma, R.S., *Sudras in Ancient India,* p. 237, n 5.
3. *ASIR*, 1903-04, pp. 114-16.
4. Ibid, p. 117. The one illustrated in the prasent paper is Indian Museum no. 18649.
5. *ASIR*, 1903-04, no. 76, pl. XLII, fig. 37. The one illustrated by us is I.M. no. 18684.
6. Ibid, p. 117, no. 99; Ibid, 1913-14, p. 139, no. 277A.
7. There is, however, 'some significant evidence of corporate concerted action among the merchants'. For details see Mookerji, R.K., op. cit, pp. 79-80.
8. Dikshitar, however, thinks they too had a separate guild (*Gupta Polity,* p. 271).
9. *New History of Indian People,* vol. VI, *The Vakataka-Gupta Age* (edited by R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar), Lahore, 1946; p. 355. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 101 ff.
10. For a different view, viz. that these were issued by five townsh'ps, joined together, see Marshall, *Taxila,* I, p. 27.

chiefs (*prathama kulikas*). The Damodarpur copper plates[1] also corroborate this point of view as, according to these, a *prathama kulika* served in the advisory council of a *vishayapati* together with a *nagara-śreshṭhin,* a *sārtthavāha* and a *prathama kāyastha* in the chief city of the district of Koṭivarsha in Bengal in the first half of the fifty century A. D. Since only one specimen of the *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-parthama-kulika-nigama*-seal has come to light, it seems that, after the change of designation, the corporation at Basarh did not last long.

In fact, in the post-Gupta period the *nigama* seals are conspicuous by their absence. The interpretation given above seems to be more acceptable than the one according to which[2] the towns would have been administered variously by (i) *śreshṭhis* exclusively (ii) *kulikas* exclusively (iii) *śreshṭhis* and *kulikas* jointly (iv) *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāhas* and *kulikas* and (v) *śreshṭhis-sārtthavāhas* and *prathama-kulikas*.

Out of a total of two hundred and seventy-four *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* sealings, two hundred and fiftyfour were found in one chamber[3]. Bhandarkar[4] and Beni Prasad[5] were of opinion that the house belonged to a seal-maker. This envisages that seal-impressions were tested at that place by the seal-maker. But the suggestion is hardly tenable in view of the fact that most of these sealings bear clear string-marks at their backs testifying that these had been attached to letters, parcels and the like.

The chamber apparently appears to have been a room where sealed letters and documents were housed in safe custody[6]. Alternately, it might have been a refuse room where sealed documents, whose relevancy had expired, were stowed away[7]. Bloch's suggestion that these were attached to letters and sent by something like a modern Chamber

1. *EI*, XV, pp. 130, 133.
2. This opinion was put forth by Dr. Bhandarkar. He writes "... in Gupta period while some towns were administered by *sreshthi sartthavaha* and *kulika* together, some were governed by *sreshthin* and *kulika* only conjointly or severally" (op. cit. p. 171 fn.).
3. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 91 and 104.
4. *IA*, 1912, p. 3.
5. *The State in Ancient India,* p. 295, fn. 1.
6. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 91
7. Ibid, p. 91, The size of the chamber 10 feet square and 10 feet deep with no opening in any of the walls favours this view.

of Commerce, located somewhere in Upper India, perhaps Pataliputra,[1] does not seem to be quite convincing. These guild-sealings, as seen above, bear one or more names of individuals[2] as well. A great variety of names of individuals on these guild seals does not favour Bloch's suggestion. Moreover, had it been so, we would naturally have expected the discovery of *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* seals at other sites as well[3].

According to Altekar, the headquarters of the *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika* guild were at Vaiśāli, but its membership was spread to other towns.[4] Duplicate copies of this seal (marked with the typical *stupa*-like or money-chest device together with the legend *śreshṭhi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama*) were given to various branches of the guild. The impression of such a seal would have been necessary for any correspondence or contract and representatives of local branches added impressions of their own personal seals[5]. Those whose names occur on several sealings[6] were, in his opinion representatives placed in important cities and corresponded frequently; others, whose names occur in a single or a few cases, were representatives at some smaller localities[7]. The same authority also suggests that the sealings were used to close letters received by the provincial government of Vaiśāli from different branches of this great organization[8]. Apparently this appears to be a rational interpretation but fails to answer some vital questions. It does not explain why all the seals found in the chamber (in his opinion) belonging to the government came from a guild of Vaiśāli alone. Again, why should the branches of the guild correspond directly with the government office at Vaiśāli and not through its headquarters located at that city ? In our opinion, the room where these sealings were found was a record or refuse room of the guild itself. The name of individuals, most of them

1. Ibid, p. 104. Ghoshal endorses Bloch's view (*Classical Age*, p. 593).
2. Ibid, pp. 114, 115, 116, 117, 118.
3. Maity doubts the existence of such an august body like Chamber of Commerce in ancient India, *The Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta Period* (C.A.D. 300-550) Calcutta, 1957, p. 157.
4. *Vakataka-Gupta Age*, pp. 355-56.
5. Ibid, p. 356.
6. E. g. the name of Isanadasa occurs on seventy-five cases and those of Matridasa, Gomisvami and Ajapala in thirty-eight, thirty-seven, and sixteen cases respectively.
7. *Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p. 356.
8. Ibid, pp. 355-56.

kulikas[1] occurring on these sealings may,in most cases, be taken as persons who were members of the guild[2] and who, at times, borrowed money from it in order to invest it for manufacture of goods or similar activities, As testimony to the fact of these guilds lending money to artisans who needed it for investment, we may cite the evidence of Kauṭilya[3] "...Those...who can give instructions to artisans, who can be trusted with deposits who can plan artistic work after own design and who can be relied upon by guilds of artisans, may receive deposits of the guilds".[4]

Persons whose names occur several times must have transacted business more frequently. They would borrow money quite often for their own sake and also, at times, stand surety for loans advanced to others who were not members of the guild and, as such, whom the guild did not deem fit for direct transactions for want of knowledge about their antecedents.

The legend *namaḥ namastasmai* (**PL. VI. 2**[5]; **VII. 6**[6]) *jitaṁ bhagavatā, namaḥ Paśupateḥ* (i.e. *Paśupataye*) etc.[7] which occur along with the impressions of the guild seal, have been taken by Altekar as impressions of seals of *Śaiva* and *Vaishṇava* temples which probably conducted their financial transactions at Vaiśāli through the agency of the great guild.[8] Contemporary or near contemporary epigraphs, no doubt, bear testimony to the fact that donors sometimes deposited money in the shape of fixed deposits with guilds on condition that, out of the interest accruing thereof, some charitable works like feeding the poor or monks or burning of a lamp in some temple etc. were to be carried out. But had these impressions been of temple-seals, then the legend would have given the name of

1. See *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 104. For names of several *kulikas* see *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 114-116I two *prathama-kulikas*, Hari and Ugrasimha (Ibid, p.117) two *sreshthis* Shashthidatta and Sridasa (Ibid, p. 118) and one *sartthavaha*, Dodda by name (Ibid, p. 117).
2. Cf. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 104.
3. Shamasastri's translation, 6th edition, p. 227.
4. There are certain differences in the text of different manuscripts. These have been noted.
5. No. 18650 in the Indian Museum. This was brought to light in the excavations by Bloch (1903-04).
6. No. 18684 Indian Museum, Calcutta; Bloch's excavations (1903-04).
7. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 110.
8. *Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p. 35 n.

the temples and not the formulae.[1] We are of opinion that these are pious and auspicious formulae like the present-day *Śrī-Gaṇeśāya-namaḥ* and other similar ones, very much in vogue, particularly in the business community. Legends like *namaḥ* and *namastasmai* are of a general type whereas *jitam bhagavatā* smacks of Vaishṇavism and *namaḥ Paśupateh* (*Paśupataye*) is definitely Śaivite. We may also note another interesting formula that occurs on guild seals, viz. *Dharmo rakshati-rakshitaḥ* i.e. '*dharma* protects, when protected'.[2] This occurs in the *Manusmṛiti* in exactly the same form.[3] The addition of the formula, besides conforming to the traditional way of beginning a contract, would have given a touch of sanctity to the contract which might have created a religious fear against any violation.

The fact that a *nigama* seal from Rajghat is combined with an *amātya* seal, another (*nigama* seal) from the same site with a *Janapada* seal, another still with a *daṇḍanāyaka* seal and a *śreshthi-sārtthavāha-kulika-nigama* seal from Basarh with that of a *kumārāmātya*, suggests that guilds could, sometimes, enter into transactions with government officers and institutions.[4] This fully speaks for the eminent status and dependability of the guilds.

Sreni Seals

Rajghat has yielded two interesting *śreṇi* sealings. One of these bears the legend *Gavayāka seniye* in c. first century B.C. characters around a *svastika* in the middle field (**PL.** B, 5[5]) while the other has the legend

1. Such formulae generally occur on votive seals and sealings. We have discussed such seals elsewhere (' Motto seals and sealings-Religious and Ethical ' published in *JNSI*, XXIX, pp. 26-39).
2. Curiously enough, Bloch (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 104-05) and Marshall (Ibid, 1911-12, p. 48) took the legend as a personal name. Bloch's faulty translation of the legend " Dharma protects a protected person " was responsible for the rejection of its being a benedictory formula (Ibid).
3. VII. 15, *dharma eva hato hanti, dharmo rakshati rakshitah.*
4. For details see above. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, thought that the presence of *kumaramatya* seal on the lump bearing *sreshthi-sarttavaha-kulika-nigama* was an important evidence in favour of the interpretation of the word *nigama* as town, for according to him, this agrees with the administrative fact furnished by Damodarpur plates that immediately above the town official was *kumaramatya* (op. cit., p. 171, fn). But we have seen that impressions of *nigama* seals are combined with those of other officials. These rather entered in contract with the guild.
5. See also *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 410.

Vārāṇasyāraṇyaka-śreṇi.[1] Members of the *Gavayāka śreṇi* "guild of milkmen"[1] would rear milch cattle and deal in milk, curd, butter and ghee. The *Mahāvastu* mentions *dadhyikā* (dealers in curd) and *ghṛitakuṇḍikā* (dealers in ghee in pots) in a long list of *śreṇis*.[2] Members of other guild (*araṇyaka śreṇi*) must have dealt in forest products. We may note that the *Mahāvastu*[3] refers to the *śreṇis* of those who dealt in fruits (*phala-vāṇijā*), roots(*mula-vāṇijā*), straw (*triṇa-vāṇijā*), wood (*kāshṭha-vāṇijā*), bark (*valkal vāṇijā*),[4] bamboo (*vaṁśa-vāṇijā*), while the *jātaka* stories refer to villages of hunters near Varanasi.

The term *śreṇi* occurs even in the *Ṛigveda*.[5] The Buddhist literature frequently refers to eighteen guilds.[6] *Śreṇi* in *Pāṇinīya* (II.1.59) is explained by Kaiyaṭa and *Tattvabodhinī* as an association of adults following a common trade or dealing in a common commodity.[7] Kauṭilya uses the term in the sense of an association of merchants, artisans or military clans.[8] Medhātithi (on *Manu*, VIII. 14) explains the term as an association of traders, artisans, money-lenders or users and also of men proficient in the four branches of learning (or four Vedas).[9] The *Vyavahāramayūkha* on Nārada (X.2) defines *śreṇis* as an association of several castes joined together for the purpose of pursuing a common trade.[10] From the *smṛiti-chandrikā* it appears that the *śreṇis* exercised control over the exclusive right of sale of a particular commodity to a particular guild.[11]

1. Ibid, p. 410.
2. *Mahavastu Avadanam*, (ed. by Senart), III, pp. 113 & 442.
3. Ibid, III, pp. 113, 442-43. cf. also *Milindapanho* (ed. by .V. Trenckner, London 1928) p. 331 where a reference occurs to the grass-cutters and hewers of wood.
4. *Jatakas*nos. 501 (*Rohanta-Miga Jataka*), 540 (*Sama Jataka*) cf. also *Jataka* no . 265 (*Khurappa Jataka*). Obviously the number is conventional.
5. *Rigveda*, V. 1.16.10, vide Kane, P. V., op. cit., vol. II, pt. I, 66.
6. *Jatakas* nos. 538 (*Mugapakkha Jataka*), 546 (*Maha-umagga Jataka*), *Mahavastu* (Senart's ed.) vol. III, pp. 114 and 442, cf. *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 18-19.
7. Vide, Kane, P. V., op. cit., vol. II, pt. I, p. 66 *Ekenasilpena panyena vaye jivanti tesham samuhah srenih*, vide Mookerji, op. cit., p. 33.
8. See *Arthasastra*, Book VII, see. 16; Book IX section 2, *Kamboja surashtra kshatriya srenyadayo varta sasetropajivihan*, i. e. the *srenis* of the *kshatriyas* of Kamboja and Surashtra subsist by the possession of arms and *varta* (economic pursuits).
9. *Eka kāryāpanna-vaṇikakārukusīda-chāturvidyādayaḥ*.
10. *Nānā jātīyanāmeka jātīya karma-kurvatāṁ samūhaḥ śreṇayaḥ* cf also *Mitākshar ā* on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti II*, 30, *Nānā jātīnāmeka jātīyakarmopajīvināṁ samghaṭataḥ*.
11. Vide Kane, P. V., op. cit., III, p. 478.

The above citations[1] favour the view that *śreṇi* was an association of persons following the same vocation.

Guilds (*śreṇis*) had the privilege of making their own laws (bye-laws) which even kings respected[2] provided these did not go against the interests of the state or offend morality. They also functioned as courts and had authority to adjudicate in disputes of individual members or between the members and the guild and to punish a refractory member.[3] In fact, in certain respects, the guilds proved to be a more effective organization than the caste. The kings highly valued such institutions along with their representatives and often bestowed favours on them.

The characteristic features of these *śreṇis,* viz. hereditary professions, localisation of different branches of industry,[4] institution of headmen[5] and possession of a militia on which even the kings also depended for support in time of emergency,[6] suggest a comparison with the European guild in the middle ages.[7] They had their own banners marked with their insignias representing the implements of their industry, and were allotted separate pavilions for witnessing special

1. For other definitions see Mookerji, R. K., op. cit., pp. 29-30.
2. Manu, VIII, 41 :

   Jāti janapadāndharmān śreṇi dharmāṁścha dharmavit,
   samīkshya kuladharmāṁścha svadharmaṁ pratipādyayet.

   Cf *Gautama Dh. Sūtra* (*Ānandāśrama ed.*) 2.2.20-21 :

   ātmnayairaviruddhaḥ pramāṇam karshivaṇikapaśupālyakusīdikāravaḥ sve sve varge.

   See *Bṛihaspati,* 1.93 :

   kula-śreṇigaṇādhyakshaḥ puradurganivāsinaḥ
   vāgdhidaṁaṁ parityāgaṁ prakuryuḥ pāpakāriṇaṁ
   Taiḥ kṛitaṁ cha svadharmeṇa nigrahānugrahaṁ nṛināṁ
   tadrājñopyanumantavyaṁ nisṛishṭārthā hi te smṛitāḥ.
3. *Brihaspati,* 17.15.
4. A village of woodrights numbering 500 (*Jataka* no. 156) ; village of 1000 families of smiths (*Jataka* no. 287). Even cities were peopled by persons following one vocation or craft (*Jataka* nos. 72, 221).
5. e.g. *Jataka* nos. 387 (*Suchi, J.*), 531 (*Sattinipata J.*), 415 (*Kumasapinda J.*), 466 (*Samudda J.*).
6. *Arthasatra,* IX, 11, cf. also the evidence of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* quoted by Majumdar, R. C., op. cit., pp. 29-30.
7. Fick, R., *The Social Organization in North-East India* (translated from German by S. Maitra, Calcutta, 1920), p. 284.

performances[1].

Guilds transacted their business in orderly manner and no indiscipline of misappropriation of funds was allowed to go unpunished.[2] Their gains and losses were shared by all the members[3]. Yājñavalkya lays down that the office bearers of a guild should be persons of character and attainment and that their institutions be scrupulously carried out.[4] In case of dissensions the king had to make both parties conform to the established usage.[5] Ancient Indian literature, in fact, throws welcome light on the organization, functions, rights and duties, powers and prestige, prosperity and longevity and the internal quarrels of these guilds[6].

Inscriptions also testify to a variety of guilds named after the common vocation of their members.[7] They further attest that guilds in ancient times, famous as they were for their efficient organization, integrity and stability, also acted as bankers and trustees accepting deposits and paying interest or doing some charitable work in accordance with the wishes of the donor. Rich as many of them were, they at times made gifts and created religious edifices as well. A Gupta epigraph bears testimony to the long life of the guild of silk-weavers, its munificence, mobility of its labour and the elasticity of occupation amongst its members. Kingdoms and empires rose and fell but the guilds mostly continued their existence unruffled.

1. *Mahābhārata* (Gītā Press) *Khilabhāga*; *Harivaṁśa Vishṇuparva Śloka* 5 : *svakarma dravyayuktābhiḥ patākābhirnirantaraṁ,*
   śreṇīnāṁcha gaṇānāṁ cha mañchābhāntyachalopamāḥ.
   An inscription of the Rashtrakuta period speaks of a guild that had its own umbrella and chowrie, which it had obtained through a royal character (*IA*, X, p. 118; cf. also Altekar, *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, Poona (1934), p. 370. We may recollect that the device on *sreshthi-sartthavaha-kulika-nigama* seals has been, with a good deal of justification, identified by Bloch (*ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 110) as money-chest, a very appropriate symbol for guild. The *Arthasastra* (*prakarana* 160-61) refers to bags of money with golden seals. The *nigama* coins from Taxila bear the device of steel-yard (*ASR*, XIV, p. 20) again an appropriate symbol for *nigama*.
2. *Yaj.* II, 187; *Manu*, VIII, 219.
3. *Yaj.* II, 259.
4. Ibid, II, 191.
5. Ibid, II, 192, *bhedanchaisham nripo rakshet purvavrittimcha palayet.*
6. For details see Mookerji, R. K., op. cit., chapeters III-IV, and Majumdar, R. C., op. cit., chapter I.
7. e.g. Ivory workers (*KI*, II, p. 92); flour-makers (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 147) weavers (*KI*, VIII, pp. 82-86); silk-cloth weavers (*CII*, III) no. 18); oilmen (Ibid, no. 16).
8. *CII*, III, no. 18.

In the present context *nigama* and *śreṇi* refer to guilds of two different types; the former being persons belonging to one or more castes but following the same profession and the latter incorporating persons following various crafts or merchants dealing in various commodities.[1] The guilds whose power and prestige, popularity and prosperity and even influence on rulers, already referred to above, could not have found it difficult to issue coins, such as have been found at Taxila.[2]

APPENDIX

We may also refer to a few sealings which belonged to certain professions and might have even belonged to guilds. A terracotta sealing of the Gupta period from Kumrahar[3] shows, in upper half, a spouted vessel with a lid in the centre flanked by a conch on the left, and a serpent on right. In the lower half occurs the legend *Tamboli-karmasya* (PL. B, 7). It may mean 'of a worker in betel' or 'of Karma' a *tamboli* (i.e. betel-seller). *Mitāksharā* mentions *tāmbulakas* as one of types of *śreṇis*.[4] The guild of dealers in betel has also been mentioned in the list of eighteen guilds in the commentary on the Jain work *Jambuddivapannati*.[5] The seal may thus indicate existence of a guild of betel-sellers. The representation of the vase and snake is interesting. While the former might signify a *maṅgala kalaśa* or the water-vessel kept by betel-sellers for frequent wetting of the betel leaves, the latter may indicate the presence of snakes in betel plantations—a common phenomenon or may even be suggestive of *nāga* cult.

Then there are a few other seals referring to certain professions. M.M. Nagar has noticed two seals from Kauśāmbi, one bearing the legend *Nāvikasa*[6] (skt. *Nāvikasya*) '(seal) of a boatman' in 2nd century

1. This would meet the objection of Bhandarkar, who, on the basis of the fact that the terms *nigama* and *sreni* occur simultaneously in the literature and the latter undoubtedly refers to guild, opined that *nigama* would mean something else (See Bhandarkar, D. R., op. cit., p. 176, fn. 1).
2. For a different view see Bhandarkar, D. R., op. cit., p. 176.
3. Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumarhar Excavations,* 1951-55, p. 104, no. 8, pl. XXXIII, no. 10.
4. On *Yaj.* II, 30. We may note that guild of betel-sellers finds mention in Siyadoni inscriptions of the latter half of the tenth century A. D. (Majumdar, R. C., op. cit., p. 70).
5. Vide Jain, J. C., *Life in Ancient India as Depicted in the Jaina Canons*, Bombay (1947), p. 109 f. n. 5.
6. *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, XII, pt. I (1939), p. 84, no. 2 and pl.

B.C. characters and the other having the legend *Raṭhikasa* (skt. *Rathikasya*) 'a seal of a charioteer' engraved around a circular depression in similar characters.[1] We may note that the *Mahāvastu* includes *nāvika* in the list of guilds.[2]

A terracotta sealing from Bhita in the Allahabad Museum bears a circular legend *Sūlaphalayikanaṁ* in characters of *c.* second century B.C. (**pl. B, 8**). It seems to refer to the makers of arrow-heads[3] (*Śūla phala*) and spear-heads.

We may, in passing, also refer to two seals from Ujjain; one, of terracotta, bearing the legend *Gosahitakasa* in characters of *c.* first century B.C.[4] and the other, of ivory, having a four line legend of which only the last two are legible and read *Goṭhajasa* and *Tisakasa* respectively in similar characters.[5] The first may be of the guild of people rearing cattle and *Goṭha* in the second seems to be similar to *Goshṭha* 'a company' or 'guild'.[6]

1. *Juphs*, X II, p. 84, no. 11 and pl.
2. *Mahavastu Avadanam* (Senart's ed.) vol. III, pp. 113 and 443.
3. In ancient India there was much specialization in various small crafts.Even the various parts of an object like the arrow were manufactured separately by different persons. As Prof. Basham puts it, " ...One man would fashion the shaft of arrow, a second would fix the flights and a third make and fix the point " (Basham, A.,L. *The Wonder That Was India*, p. 216).
4. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1957-58, p. 88, no. 78.
5. Ibid, p. 89, no. 82.
6. The Bhattiprolu inscriptions refer to *gothis* (*EI*, II, p. 4325).

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FRESH EVIDENCE ON THE 'SIJISTAN BARBAROUS' SERIES OF ARAB-SASANIAN DIRHAMS

A. D. H. BIVAR

[PL. V]

One of the most puzzling coin-series of Southern Afghanistan is that which it is convenient to designate the 'Sijistān barbarous' series. These resemble the well-known Arab-Sasanian dirhams of the first decades of the Arab conquest in Iran and Afghanistan, which were issued between the Hijri dates 31/651 and 84/703. Like their prototypes, the regular Arab-Sasanian dirhams, this 'Sijistān barbarous' series shows on the obverse the portrait bust of the Sasanian king Khosrau II (A.D. 591-628), wearing his winged crown, with the Pahlavi inscription *xwslwb* (now somewhat blundered), written downwards in front of the face. The reverse depicts a fire-altar between two guardian priests; and to either side (now again blundered) the Pahlavi inscriptions indicating, to the left, the date, and, to the right, the mint. At the same time, the 'barbarous' series are quite different in style and appearance from the regular Arab-Sasanian coins. The rendering of the types, both obverse and reverse, has become very crude and schematic. The royal portrait has degenerated into a linear outline that is no more than a diagram. Moreover, as already noticed, the Pahlavi legends are blundered, though recognisable. A further, very obvious, point of difference presented by the 'barbarous' series is that their silver content is obviously less pure than that of the 'regular' Arab-Sasanian issues. Often, as they come to light at the present day, they are badly discoloured, and indeed almost black in appearance. Specimens that have been lying for any length of time under the ground are often badly corroded, so that the aspect they present is quite different from that of the bright and shiny Arab-Sasanian issues.

The first scholar to examine closely the coins of the 'barbarous' series was J. Walker, in his *Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the*

British Museum.[1] He was able to read the marginal Arabic inscriptions which appear on several of the coins ; and these, since the Pahlavi legends were machanical imitations of earlier prototypes, and in any case blundered, offered the only hope of explaining the significance of these issues. Upon one variety the marginal Arabic inscription commenced at one o'clock, and read as follows :

1st Quadrant	:	*b-ismi 'llāh rabbī*	' In the name of God, my Lord'.
2nd Quadrant	:	*ḍuriba*	' Struck '
3rd Quadrant	:	*bi-Zaranj*	' at Zaranj '.

These readings were informative, insofar as they showed that the coins in question appeared to have been issued by Muslims, rather than by any of their opponents in the Sīstān area. And that despite their barbarous and provincial appearance, they claimed to have been minted at the city of Zaranj itself, the capital of the Arab province of Sijistān. This site is generally believed to have been located at Nād ' Alī in South-Western Afghanistan.

Although this much information was therefore conveyed by the inscriptions which had been read by Walker, many tantalizing questions remained unanswered. In particular, there was no indication whatever of the date of issue of these coins. Did they belong to the general period of the Arab-Sasanian coinages, down to 84/703 ? Or could they possibly be later ? What political faction could have issued these crude and barbarous pieces, so unlike the inscriptional issues of the regular Caliphal series of dirhams, which were also issued from time to time at Zaranj ? Were they to be regarded as issues of the Caliphal governors, and if so, why were they so different from the regular Arab-Sasanian or inscriptional issues ? Were they issues of one of the various rebel factions, for example that of the Khārijite rebels, who at least on one occasion gained control of the capital city, and often roamed the surrounding countryside ? Could their historical significance be explained ?

Recently, the question of the ' Sijistān barbarous ' coin-series has been re-examined by Göbl in his account of the coins of the Eastern Huns.[2] He has illustrated a large number of examples on his plates, and some of these have variant marginal legends that are evidently

1. *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins,* I, London 1941, p. 125.
2. Robert Gobl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien and Indien* (Wiesbaden 1967) I, pp., 205-6 ; III, Plate 82-3, series 296.

of interest. It is a pity that Göbl has discarded the authoritative readings of Walker for the varieties previously known. His proposal to substitute for the well-established reading *Zaranj* an unknown personal name, Shuraikh, does not commend itself. Hardly more attractive is his proposal to read in the marginal legends of two other specimens, two well-known Arabic place-names which have no known relevance to the Sīstān area, namely ' Akkā and Tamīs. The first outline may rather represent the word '*adl* (frequent on Muslim coins, and signifying ' legal tender '). The latter, if it be not part of a date, *tamānīn*, cannot yet be better explained. On the general question of the chronological place of this series, Göbl seeks to place them in the regular Arab-Sasanian sequence, between the dates 67/686 and 78/697, a suggestion which is not implausible. The purpose of the present note is, however, to present a piece of evidence which tends to support a rather different theory.

During 1962 the present writer had the good fortune to visit Afghanistan while on study leave from the School of Oriental and African Studies. He was able to pay a short visit to Lashkargāh, the newly-established settlement near the mediaeval stronghold of Bust, at the junction of the rivers Helmand and Arghandāb. Bust was, of course, after Zaranj, the second city of the Arab province of Sīstān, and a great commercial centre. At the time of his visit the writer made the acquaintance of a number of American agricultural experts who were then working in the area. The area of cultivation round Lashkargāh was being extended, and much ground being brought under the plough which had long been lying uncultivated. Moreover, ploughing with tractors was disturbing the ground to a greater depth than had previously been customary. As was to be expected, a number of mediaeval coins had been coming to light in the course of these operations. The experts supervising the work had been able to save a number of the coins which had thus been found, and these they very kindly allowed the writer to examine and photograph.

Most of these coins, which presented a rather unattractive appearance, were of the ' Sijistān barbarous ' series, and one, which particularly caught the writer's attention (**PL. V, 2-3**). Whilst similar on other respects to the examples previously known, it bears a new Arabic legend in the right-hand margin, which plainly reads : Tamīm bin Sa 'īd. It happens that there is a personage of this name who played a part in the history of Sīstān, and who can be identified.

In dealing with the history of mediaeval Sīstān the numismatist is fortunate in having available a detailed written source, the Persian *Tārīkh-i-Sīstān*.[1] Though the text of this work was printed in book form nearly thirty years ago, it has not yet been extensively utilised by writers on mediaeval history in the English language. It contains, however, many important details not mentioned in the Arabic chronicles, and it is interesting to note that where it is possible to check the names and dates of the Arab governors which it lists (their dates being often quoted to the month and day) with the evidence of coins, the accuracy of the *Tārīkh* is uniformly vindicated. Now the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* only once makes mention of a governor named Tamīm bin Sa ʿīd. This is on p. 151, where he is mentioned as having arrived in Sīstān at the end of the month of Ṣafar 169/September 785. Shortly after his arrival Tamīm moved on from Zaranj to Bust, and then advanced into al-Rukhkhad (Arachosia)—near the modern Qandahār—where he fought a battle with the pagan prince Zunbīl[2], whose brother he captured and sent prisoner to Irāq. On 3 Dhū ʾl-Hijja 169/6 June 786, however, Tamīm was superseded as governor by a new arrival, Kathīr (Kuthair ?) bin Sālim, and is thereafter not heard of again. If therefore his be indeed the name inscribed upon this coin, it must have been issued during the Hijri year 169.

The implications of this reading for the interpretation of the ' Sijistān barbarous ' coin-series are thus far-reaching. If, as seems reasonable, we may assume that the whole series is not far removed in date from the year 169/785-6, it is to the period of the ʿAbbāsid governors, and not to their predecessors sent out by the Umayyads, that the whole group must be ascribed. When the other evidence on the numismatics of mediaeval Sīstān is examined, this conclusion has a good deal to commend it. It will be noticed that regular Arab-Sasanian dirhams were issued from Sīstān during most of the years down to the reconquest of the province of Hajjāj in A. H. 84. The reformed Arabic coinage of Sīstān, with its inscriptional types, appears first in A. H. 90, being known thereafter for

1. Edited by Malik al-Shuʿara Bahar, Tehran 1314/1935, and many times reprinted. Data from this text have recently been utilized by E. C. Bosworth, *Sistan under the Arabs ISMEO*, Rome 1968. See especially p. 84.
2. Zunbil is a generic title used by the Arab historians for the local rulers of Arachosia, by whom they were opposed. The individual names are not recorded, and their relationship to the dynasty of the Kabulshahs has not been explained.

every year until A . H. 98, and again, after a gap, for A. H. 127 and 129. It is possible that coins of the intervening years may eventually be discovered.

With the rise of the 'Abbāsid dynasty from 132/750, however, the series of inscriptional, ' reformed-type ' dirhams issued for Sijistān, or for its capital city of Zaranj, is less well attested, and appears less complete. In the following decades, therefore, space might more easily be found to accommodate the coins of the ' Sijistān barbarous ' series. It may seem surprising to find at so late a date issues with the ' Arab-Sasanian ' portrait types. Yet for this stage of affairs there does exist a significant parallel. Walker has shown[1] that during the 'Abbāsid period the region of Bukhārā was afflicted by a drain of silver coinage to the heartlands of the Caliphate. To overcome the consequent shortage of currency, the local authorites introduced a coinage of billon or mixed metal, bearing a portrait type derived from the Sasanian coinages. This was the coinage known as the ' Ghiṭrīfī dirhams ', which continued to circulate in the bazars of Bukhārā at a value intermediate between that of the pure silver dirhams, and the copper fulūs, and which offered less temptation than the former to the exporters of bullion. It is quite conceivable that a similar base currency, not attested by the historians, was issued for similar reasons in Sīstān, and that this was the function of our ' Sijistān barbarous ' dirhams. Their apparent rarity will be due to the fact that they were not exported, like the dirhams of pure metal, in the course of mediaeval trade, and that their rough appearance has not attracted the attention of modern numismatists. On the other hand large quantities of this ' barbarous ' coinage may still lie in the ruins of the Sīstān bazars in which they once circulated. It is to be expected that close scrutiny of future finds may reveal many new varieties of this coinage, the inscriptions of which may confirm (if they do not refute) the attribution of this coinage to the period of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate.

It remains to consider whether this coinage was issued only at Zaranj, or whether it was minted also at Bust, where specimens have come to

1. BMCMC., p. cl. On the chronology of the Bukhawan local Coinage see further the discussion on pp. lxxxvi-xciii. Dr. Walker dates the commencement of the issue of the first local dirhams of Bukhara bearing Arabic legends to the years 158/775 to 163/780. Although it was not until the last issues of the series that the metal of this coinage was debased, it was thus almost exactly contemporary with the date here ascribed to the ' Sijistan barbarous ' series.

light. So far as its attribution to Zaranj is concerned, this appears to be substantiated by the inscriptions which have been read by Walker. The coin of Tamīm bin Sa 'īd was certainly found at Bust, and there is literary evidence that this governor actually resided there for a time, so it could, indeed, have been minted there. But there is nothing which obliges us to suppose so, and it is just as probable that the coin had travelled in circulation from Zaranj. Only further investigation will show whether other varieties of this series actually bear the mint-name of Bust, or the names of governors whose rule was restricted to the latter town. In any event, the coin of Tamīm bin Sa'īd puts the whole question of the ' Sijistān barbarous ' coinage in a new light. It need no longer be attributed to unknown ' barbarous ' rulers, but can be seen as a minor denomination issued by the 'Abbāsid governors in their capital city of Zaranj, and perhaps also at Bust, to meet a local economic need.[1]

1. This note on a numismatic problem of mediaeval Afghanistan is offered as a tribute to the memory of the late Dr. R. B. Whitehead, whose wide interest in the historical coinages of India so often included the nearby region of Afghanistan ; and whose work gave inspiration to scholars in many lands.

DAPOLI HOARD OF SILVER LARINS

M. K. HUSAIN

[Pl. V—VI]

In the last issue of the *Journal* I have published an exhaustive paper on *larins*. Now, in continuity of that paper, I publish here a hoard of 359 silver *larins*, which was discovered in 1919 in the village Kadivali in Taluka Dapoli of the Ratnagiri district, just 12 miles off the sea-coast. It was kept in a pot, which the finder immediately broke into pieces and threw away. In July 1921, the hoard was handed over to Muhammad Ismail, the then Assistant Curator, Archaeological Section, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, which was then responsible for the study and report of the Treasure Trove finds. Muhammad Ismail probably prepared a preliminary report and submitted it to the Society ; but the report is available neither in the Society nor at the Museum.

Later, Muhammad Ismail desired to prepare a detailed paper on these coins, the *larins*, that were returned to the Society, were brought back to the Museum ; but this time the *larins* of the hoard were found mixed with 42 other *larins* that were kept in the Society and had come there from other sources unknown. In the mean time, Muhammad Ismail left the Museum and the *larins* remained with the Museum. In 1955, when P. L. Gupta joined the Prince of Wales Museum as Numismatist, he undertook the examination of these *larins* and made a preliminary classification and submitted a brief report to the Government of Maharashtra on 13th September 1961. Before he could undertake the detailed study of these coins; he left the Prince of Wales Museum to join Patna Museum.

Later, the *larins* were transferred to the office of the Director of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay, where they are now deposited. I had the occasion to see and study these *larins* by the kind courtesy of the Director. He encouraged me to under-

take the systematic and scientific study of the *larins* and publish them.[1]

The Larins that are transferred to the Directorate of Archives and Archaeology are 401, 42 more than what were found in the Dapoli hoard. It appears that these 42 coins belong to some other hoard and were mixed into the coins of the Dapoli hoard at the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society.

Some of the *Larins* are in a very poor condition and cannot be deciphered at all. Most of the *larins* bear fragments of the legends ; so, it is not possible to isolate them and classify them properly. But those larins, which bear such legends, that could give clue to their issuers, show that the lot includes the following types of the *larins*.

1. *The Persian Larins.* They included the issues of Ismail I (A. D. 1502-1524) ; and Tahmasp I (A. D. 1524-1576). P. L. Gupta had suspected some coins belonging to Muhammad Khudabanda (1577-1587 A. D.) ; but I could not locate them.

2. *The Hormuz Larins.* The coins of Turān Shah (950-970/71 A. H. ; A. D. 1543-1563).

3. *The Larins of Lar.* On these coins, the mint name Lar is seen ; but the names of the issuers could not be made out. The dates appearing on them, place them in the time of the Safavid kings.

4. *The Bijapur Larins.* They belong to Ali Adil Shah II (1558-1580 A. D.).

5. *Fish-hook Larins of Ceylon* ; and,

6. *Copper Taweelah.*

Of these, which belong to the Dapoli hoard and which are later interpolations at the Society, we have no means to isolate. But P. L. Gupta, who has gone through the correspondence between the Society and the Museum, informs that the *larins* of the last three types do not belong to the Dapoli hoard. If his information is correct, then the hoard included *larins*, exclusively of the imported types. They all belong to the sixteenth century. They seems to have been brought to Goa or some

1. In preparing it Dr. Dikshit was my constant guide ; and Dr. P. L. Gupta, the editor of the *Journal*, who had studied these *larins* and had gone through the records of the Prince of Wales Museum, when he was there, placed at my disposal ungrudgingly all that he knew about the coins and the coinage. I express my gratitude to both the Doctors.

other port nearby in the Ratnagiri district, when the Portuguese were supreme on the sea.

About a dozen of the *larins*, apparently of the Dapoli hoard, show that they were found short of weight, when the silver wire was cut ; so to meet the deficiency, a small piece of the wire was placed in between the bent and hammered before stamping.

Lastly, it would be interesting to mention that before the discovery of the Dapoli hoard, a hoard of 397 *larins* was discovered in 1846 at village Sangamesvara in the Ratnagiri district; but it contained the local Bijapur *larins* of Ali Adil Shah.

Larin of each type are being described below :

Shah Ismail I

Obv. [الاله]

مسرب لاالهالا علے ولی الاله

Rev. [ابو [السظفر سسعيل شاه[بہها]در الصفوے

ساطا[ن]

ضر[ب]

Wt. 4.8 grammes Size 6.9 cms. (**Pl. V. 4**)

Shah Tahmasp

Obv. [الاله]

لا اله الا محمد رسول علے و

Rev. [لا]

شاه طهسا ضرب ر

Wt. 4.8 grammes Size 6.3 cms. (**Pl. V. 5**)

Mill Sail Type

Obv. علے حسن|علے|محمد علے حسين

Rev. ٩٦٨

سنه

سب لار[1] بهادر

Wt. 4.8; Size 4.2 cms. (**Pl. V. 6**)

Obv. محمد علے حسين|علے موسی جعفر

Rev. سلطان العا[دل] طهسا[سب]خلد

1. In between the letters لار and در, alteast two units of letters exist on the specimen but their bottom parts have gone out of the flan therefore they cannot be read satisfactorily. But the existence of two letters itself goes against the proposed reading. —*Nisar Ahmad*

Wt. 4.65 grammes Size 4.4 cms. (**Pl. V. 7**)

Obv. محمد علی موسی|علی

Rev. دسب ۹۶۸

Wt. 4.8 grammes Size 5.4 cms. (**Pl. VI. 1**)

Turan Shah

Obv. تو[را]نشا[ه]

Rev. ۹۶[–]

Wt. 4.8 grammes Size 5.9 cms. (**Pl. VI. 2**)

Adil Shah II

Obv. سلا[طان] علی عادلشاه ۱۱۱

Rev. ضرب لاری دابلی ۷۷

Wt. 4.8 grammes Size 4.3 cms. (**Pl. VI. 3**)

Obv. Legend in Arabic

Rev. Legend in Sinhalese

Wt. 4.8 grammes Size 4.8 cms. (**Pl. VI. 4**)

Fish-Hook-Money

Obv. Wheel with other symbols.

Rev. Blank (**Pl. VI. 5**)

Wt. 4.8 grammes

Obv. Copper Taweelah with illegible Arabic legend

Rve. do (**Pl. VI. 6**)

Side view of a larin (**Pl. VI. 7**)

THE MINT MACHLIPATAN BANDAR

M. AMJAD ALI

(PL. VIII)

The well known seaport of Andhra Pradesh, Machlipatan is situated in Krishna District. It is also known as Masula, Masulipatam, Bandar, Bandar-e-Mubarik and Machli Bandar. It came into prominence during the reign of the Qutub Shahi dynasty. It was connected with Hyderabad by a Grand Trunk road, called Machli Bandar Road, a busy trade route in those days. One of the gates of the old Warangal Fort, leading to this main road, was called Bandar Darwaza.

When English came as traders in 1611 A.D., in Mohammad Quli Qutub Shah's reign, they built here their factories. They had the facilities for free trade. During the reign of Abdulla Qutub Shah they were turned out from this place and had to go to 'Armagon' in Nellore District.[1] But in 1632 A. D., they were permitted again to have their business at this place by golden firman of Abdulla. In 1637 A. D., the Queen Mother embarked here on ship for her holy pilgrimage to Mecca. Probably this event marks with the name *Bandar-e-Mubarik*. About 1646 A.D., the whole Coromandal coast came under the Qutub Shahi rule and was kept under the charge of Mohammad Sayeed Mir Jumla, who was well known in the west for his brisk trade in jewels. He was helped by the English in ousting the Portuguese from Madras. Later Mir Jumla defected and joined hands with the Moghuls. In 1676 A. D. (1087 H) and 1678 A. D. (1089 H) king Abul Hassan, visited the place, with his able minister Madanna, to organise the trade and tighten his control over the foreigners.

In 1684, on the petition[2] of President Ford of English East India Company, they were permitted to mint silver coins only on the condition that they should conform with the weight and value of the Qutub Shahi

1. S. Han manth Rao "*Qutub Shahi kings of Golconda*", *Proceedings of the Deccan History Confcrence*, 1945, p. 200.
2. M. A. Majeed Siddiqui, *Tarikh-i-Golconda*, p. 200.

coins. But it is doubtful if any Qutub Shahi silver coins were ever issued. Only the Moghul silver[1] coins were then current in the region along with the gold coins of the Hindu Rajas of the South.

The Malkhed war in 1685 A. D. (1097 H), sealed the fate of the Qutub Shahi Dynasty of Golconda and in about 1687 A. D. (1099H). Aurangazeb occupied the country, down far South.

Machlibandar was then included in Golconda *suba* as a *circar* (district), having eight parganas yielding five lakh *huns* of land revenue and eighteen thousand from commerce.

In 1690 A. D. (1102 H) Zulfeqar Khan, the Moghul subedar, renewed the *Coule* of the English E. I. C.; and the English were allowed to resettle and trade in this area. There are no records to show that they minted any coin in this town during the period. This was the time when Moghuls were facing the uprise of Marathas; their hold on the Deccan and South was getting loose ; the subedars were planning their own independance.

In 1724 A. D. (1136 H) Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah I defeated Mubariz Khan and declared himself subedar of the Deccan. This was formally approved by the Moghul Emperor later. Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan was appointed his deputy at Arcot. Machhlibandar area came under him and it was included in Northern Arcot. The rivalry between the English and the French was at its height at this time. When Iwaz Khan was made Mutasaddi of *Farkunda Buniyad* Hyderabad in 1738 A. D. (1151 H) by Asaf Jah I, he tried to quel the disturbances of these Europeans at Machhlibandar.

From 1751 A. D. (1164 H) to 1759 A. D. (1173 H) this port was occupied by the French. In 1751 A. D. Duplex was made Nawab of South Krishna by Nawab Muzaffar Jung and Chanda Saheb was kept under him. After the assasination of Muzaffar Jung, Salabat Jung gave Machhlibandar as *Jāgir* to the French General Bussey. The Northern Circars were allotted for the maintenance of the French army. On 14th May 1759 A.D. the English General Pigot captured Machhilibandar and drove out the French. Since then E. I. C. controlled this region. C. H. Biddulph has attributed the copper *falus* with laminated[2] flans dating from this time on words to E. I. C.

1. H. K. Sherwani, *Siyasat* (Daily), Independence Day Supplement 15th August '67.
2. *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 50.

Copper coins of this mint, in my collection, range in date from 1110 H. (1699 A. D.) to 1218 H. (1804 A. D.). All of them are circular and none in the strict sense rectangular or square. They are *falus* and half *falus*, weighing 190 grs, 100 grs. and measuring .8", .6" respectively. All of them bear the legend " *San-e-julus-e-mubarik* " in Arabic Tugra pattern with the date on the obverse and " *Zarab Machlipatanbandar* " with a regnal year over the " Zarab " on the reverse.

The silver coins from this mint[1] are published by S. Lanepool. These are dated 1112 H. (1700A.D.) with the regnal year 44. Whitehead has also published rupees bearing the date 1118 H. with the regnal year 50 and 51. From this data we can assume that the Machhlibandar mint might have started working near about 1110 H. (1699 A.D.).

It seems that the coins up to the date 1751 A. D. were minted by the subedars of the Deccan, under the Moghul control. Later French controlled this mint uptil 1759 A. D. I have a coin dated [11] 67 H. (1754 A. D.) with the regnal year 2. This date falls in the reign of Alamgir II. It differs in the caligraphy and metal from other coins. This might have been minted by the French. From 1759 A. D. the English E. I. C. took over. C. H. Biddulph has shown that the coins with laminated flans were minted by this Company only. His latest coin shows the date[2] 1222 H. (1807 A. D.), which falls one year later the date of death of Shah Alam II; but my collection has latest the copper falus dated 1219 H. (1804 A. D.).

Thus the copper falus and half falus, all dated and spread over 110 years, belong to the reigns of Aurangazeb, Shah-Alam I, Farrukh-siyar, Mohammad Shah, Alamgir II and Shah Alam II. A close examination of these coins reveals that the figure over the Zarab denotes the regnal year. The Machhlipattan coins, in my collections, are dated as follows :

Aurangzeb

Hijri Date	R. Y.	
1110	42	**(Pl. VIII. 1)**
1111	43	
1113	45	
1113 & 1114	46	
1115	47	

1. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 152.
2. *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 870.

Hijri Date	R. Y.	
1116	48	
1117	49 & 50	
1118	50	
	Shah Alam I	
1119	2	
1120	2	
1122	4	
1123	4	(Pl. VIII. 2)
1223	5	
1124	6	
	Farruk-Siyar	
1124	1	
1124	1	
1126	3	
1127	3	
1129	5	(Pl. VIII. 3)
1130	X	
1131	8	
	Mohammad Shah	
1133	?4	
1136	6	(Pl. VIII. 4)
1141	10	
1143	13	
1156	ś25	
	Alamgir II	
(1)167	2	(Pl. VIII. 5)
	Shah Alam III	
1175	ś5	
1185	X	
1186	X	
1189	X	
1190	17	
1191	X	
1192	18	
1193	19	
1194	20	
1196	X	
1197	23	

Hijri Date :	R. Year	
1198	24	
1200	2X	
1203	2X	
1211	X	
1212	X	
1214	40	(**Pl. VIII. 6**)
1217	X	
1218	X	
1219	X	(**Pl. VIII. 7**)

Besides these there are two coins in my collection, which bear only the regnal year " *Ahd* ". Their attribution to any ruler is difficult. One of these two coins is illustrated (**Pl. VIII. 8**).

Similar type coins bearing the mint names *Zarb-e-Haiderabad* and *Zarb-e-Bandar* dated 1106 and x211 respectively are also known. Their study is only possible when some more coins of the type are known. I therefore describe them only :

Obverse	**Reverse**	
	Zarb-e-Haiderabad	
سنه	حیدر	
مبارک	۱۱۰۸ اباد	
جلوس	ضرب	(**Pl. VIII. 9**)

Obverse	**Reverse**	
	Zarb-e-Bandar	
سنه	۲۱۱	
مبارک	بندر	
جلوس	ب ضر	(**Pl. VIII. 10**)

SOME COINS OF COOCH BEHAR

P. K. BHATTACHARYYA

[PL. IV]

The Western part of the Brahmaputra Valley in former times was included in the ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa, and its western boundary was the Karotoyā. From the 13th to the 15th centuries A. D. " the whole tract up to the Karotoyā seems still, as rule, to have formed a single kingdom, but the name had been changed from Kāmarūpa to Kāmatā ".[1] The Muslim historians sometime regard the terms Kāmarūpa and Kāmatā as synonymous referring to one and the same country, but on other occasions they describe them as distinct. It is, however, possible as Gait thinks, that at times the tracts east and west of the Sankosh owed allegiance to different rulers, just as they did in the latter days of Koch rule.[2]

After the fall of the Sena power in Bengal the Muslim rulers continued their attempts to occupy some parts of this kingdom. The Muslim occupation of Cooch Behar has however, been proved conclusively, besides other evidences, by the discovery of a big hoard of 13,500 pieces of silver coins on the left bank of the Dharlā river near the temple of Kāmateśvari which is about 3 miles south west of Dinhātā. The hoard contains the coins of the Pāṭhān rulers of Gauḍa and Delhi.[3] Among the early Muslim rulers the coins of Samsuddin Iliyas Shāh have been discovered in Kāmtāpur (modern Gosānimāri). Some coins of Sikandar Shāh found in Kāmtāpur bear legends like " *Kāmru al as chaulistān*" and are dated 759 Hijri (=1358 A. D.).[4]

1. Edward Gait, *History of Assam*, c. IV. Kamata shown as Comotay in the Map of India given in Balaev's *Theatrym Orbis Terrarum* (Amsterdam, 1650).
2. Ibid.
3. E. Thomas, *The Initial Coninage of Bengal* (1899).
4. *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, II, p. 152.
" The meaning of ' Chaulistan ' is ' land of paddy '. Inside the rampart of Kamtapur, there is a place named ' Chauler Kuthi ', " *History of Cooch Behar* (Eng. Tr. by Ghosal), p. 342. fn.

The only Kāmatā dynasty of which we have any connected account is that of the Khyan or Khen Kings, whose last representative, Nilambar, was overthrown by Hussain Shāh in 1498.[1] Hussain Shāh celebrated his success by the erection of a *Madrasah* at Malda the inscription of which bears a date corresponding to 1501-2 A. D. and was also said to have issued coins describing him as " the conqueror of Kāmaru, Kāmatā, Jājnagar and Orishā" in the legends.[2]

But the Muslim rule in Cooch Behar was short lived. After the departure of the Muslims there was, for a time, no king of the whole country, which was ruled by a number of petty independent chiefs. "This state of affairs continued for a few years and then the Koches under Biśvasingh made themselves masters of the country west of the Bar Nadi[3] ".

The kings preceding Nīlāmbar possibly did not issue any coins, at least, no coins of those rulers have been discovered. The Assam-Buruñji also remarks that " *āru vehārat Viśvasiṁha rajār pūrve kona ṭakā nā chhila*" (i. e. the predecessors of Viśvasimha issued no coins)[4]. But we do not also know certainly whether Viśvasimha himself issued any coin, for no coin of this ruler has so far been discovered. The *Durrung Vaṁśāvalī*[5] and the books of Cooch Behar royal family[6] also do not give

1. A critical account of the kings of Kamrupa preceding Maharaja Visvasimha may be found in " the Koch kings of Kamarupa " by E. Gait (*JASB*, Vol. LXII, pt. I, no. 4.)
2. A. W. Botham and R. Friel. *Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Assam* (Supplementary), pp. 148-52.
3. E. Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 43-4.
4. Rai Gunabhirama Barua, *Assam-Burunji*, p. 249. It may be mentioned that Rudrasimha's Burunji composed in 1634 A. D. (now in the office of Director of Ethnography, Assam Govt.) contains the accounts of rulers of Kamata previous to Visvasimha and some kings of Cooch Behar contemporary of the Ahom kings of Assam.
5. Both the Samudra Narayans's Vamsavali by Baladeva and Gandharva Narayana's Vamsavali by Surya deva Siddhantabagis were written in the Assamese language under the patronage of the rulers of Durrung and were known as Durrung Vamsavali. The value of these Books was recognised by E. Gait who translated them into English while writing his *History of Assam*. The first book was however printed by Assam Government as Durrang Vamsavali in 1917 A. D.
6. The *Rajopakhyana* of Munshi Joynath Ghosh (1823 A. D.), the article " Koch Beharer Itihasa " by Ananda Chandra Ghosh (18765 A. D.), and *Maharaja Vamsavali* by Ripunjay Das, are some of the important books of the history of Cooch Behar royal family.

us any idea about it. This may lead us to think that the precarious political condition of the time might have prevented Viśvasiṁha from issuing any coin in his name.

But the *Rājavaṁśāvalī*, however, furnishes us with a very important information that Viśvasiṁha after his accession to the throne issued coins in his own name (cf. "*āpana nāme chhirkā jarapa*[1] *kariyā-chhen*").[2] Again, Viśvasiṁha is said to have presented the Ahom king Su huṁ Muṅg a purse containing 500 coins struck in his own name along with five horses in Śaka 1419 = 1497 A. D. (*cf*..." *pañcha-śata mudrā dila pañcha turaṅgama* "). The Buruñji of Rūdrasiṁha mentions that presents were made by Viśvasiṁha to the Ahom king in 1405 Saka(= 1483 A. D.) but does not specify them.[3]

The coins of the Ahom king Suklen Muṅg, who was the son of Su huṁ Muṅg, the contemporary of Viśvasiṁha, have been discovered.[4] Thus it would not be surprising if the coins of Viśvasiṁha are discovered some day somewhere from the Cooch Behar region.

According to the tradition the kings of Cooch Behar are said to have issued coins of gold, silver, brass and copper, but we have not came across any coin of gold or brass of the earlier rulers so far. Only the later rulers e.g. Śivendra Nārāyaṇa, Narendra Nārāyaṇa, Nṛipendra Nārāyaṇa, Rāja Rājendra Nārāyaṇa, Jitendra Nārāyaṇa, and the living king Śrīmān Jagadīndra Nārāyaṇa have minted a few gold coins along with silver coins during their respective coronation ceremony. The coins of Cooch Behar rulers are known as Nārāyaṇī coins[5] and according to the *Rājopākhyāna* it is due to the reason that the successors of Viśvasiṁha assumed the title " Nārāyaṇa." Amanatulla Ahmed Khan thinks that the ' *Alamgir Nāmā's* suggestion that the coins were known as Nārāyaṇī in accordance with the name of the family deity which was Nārāyaṇa, is "unsupported"[6]. And in the coins the rulers generally describe themselves as the " *devotees of Lord Śiva* " *Śiva-charaṇa-kamalamadhukarasya* ").

1. " *Jarap* (*Jarab*) " is an Arabic word, meaning ' Striking '. As coins are made by stamping dies, these are said to be ' *Jarap* '. (vide History of Cooch Behar) (Ghosal), p. 343, fn.
2. The *Rajavamsavali* by Durgadas Majumdar (1863), p. 16.
3. Ibid.
4. *IMC,I*, p. 298 Pl. XXIX.
5. The Persian book *Riaz-us-slatin*, translated in Bengali by Rampran Gupta, refers to the Narayani coins. (p. 7).
6. Ghosal, *History of Cooch Behar*, p. 353,

Khan, following other numismatists like Stapleton, thinks that the coins of Hussain Shāh were in use in Cooch Behar when the rule of the kings of Nārāyaṇa dynasty was established, and the Nārāyaṇī coins were designed in imitation of those of Hussain Shāh.[1] The influence of Nārāyaṇī coins were, however, greatly increased. And in fact it was in circulation not only in the whole of North Bengal, but in Nepāl, Bhutān, Sikkim, Tibet and in the kingdom of Assam. The Ahom chiefs used to realise revenues in Nārāyaṇī coins up to the beginning of the 19th century inspite of the fact that they had their own coinage.[2] The Bhutiās in course of their invasion into Cooch Behar (1770 A. D.) were said to have removed a die of Nārāyaṇī coins to Bhutān and have begun to issue a coin called *Debṭākā* from their region. Earlier they used to make their coins from the Cooch Behar mint.[3] " Even today the people of Cooch Behar respect Nārāyaṇī coins and hang them on the necks of infants as a protection against the evil eye ".[4] The Arcot and Sikka rupees issued by the company could not oust the Nārāyaṇī coins from Northern Bengal, and the Company's special efforts were necessary to stop the local issue.[5] Afterwards these coins were " sold, destroyed or lost in circulationl"[6] and as a result, at present, very few coins may be found in Cooch Behar region.

A number of coins of the successors of Viśvasiṁha are, however, preserved in the Asiatic Society, Cooch Behar Palace library, Shillong Cabinet, British Museum, Bangiye Sāhitya Parishad and other places. Some of these coins can also be found in the private collections. Recently a few such coins have been collected by the Akshay Kumar Maitreya Historiacl Museum, North Bengal University ; and they are described here.

King Nara Narayana :

After Viśvasiṁha, his son Malladeva ascended the throne with the name Nara Nārāyaṇa, Sukladhvaj (nick-named Silarai, king of the kites, from his rapid movement in war), another son of Viśvasiṁha, being

1. Amanatulla Ahmed Khan, " *Kuch Beharer Itihas* " (Bengali) chapter XV.
2. Petition dated the 18th May, 1853 by Balaram Fukan and others to Government.
3. Surgeon Rennei, *Bhutan and the Story of the Dooars war* ", p. 48, Captain S. Turner, " *Embassy to Tibbet* ", p. 143.
4. Ghosal, *History of Cooch Behar*, p. 354.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

appointed his commander-in-chief.[1] The Koch power reached its zenith during the reign of Nara Nārāyaṇa. When Viryavanta, the chief of the Khairam state in the Khasi Hills, tendered his submission voluntarily, the *Buruñjis* state that a condition imposed on him was that his coins should in future be struck in the name of Nara Nārāyaṇa, with the sign of a mace as a distinguishing mark from those of the Koch Kings' own mint.[2] Only six coins[3] of this ruler are available of which one is missing. So the present coin, which is described here, is the seventh addition to the series. It was presented by N. K. Chaudhury of Jalapaiguri.

Metal, AR ; Weight 10.45 gm. ; Size, 30.5 mm.

Obv. : Legend in Sanskrit and old Bengali (Maithili) script. Five line legend in double circle, with dots within, (1) *Śrī Śrī* (2) *mannara Nārā* (3) *yaṇa bhūpāla* (4) *sya śake* (5) 1477.

Rev. : As on obverse. Four lines in double circle, with dots within (1) *Śrī Śrī* (2) *Śiva charaṇa* (3) *Kamala madhu* (4) *karasya.* (Coin of Nara Nārāyaṇa, a bee on the lotus like feet of Śiva, śaka 1477=1555 A. D.). **(PL. IV. 5)**

Silarai, the Commander-in-chief of Nara Nārāyaṇa died leaving a son named Raghudeva. Owing to a misunderstanding between him and his uncle, Nara Nārāyaṇa, the kingdom was afterwards divided between them, the portion west of the Sankosh river being kept by Nara Nārāyaṇa for himself and his successors, while the tract east of that river was alloted to Raghudeva. The western kingdom was subsequently called Kuch Behar,[4] or Cooch Behar. The rule of the eastern kingdom

1. E. Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 49.
2. Maulabi A. U. Ahamed, *Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins of Eastern Bengal and Assam*, p. 196-7.
3. The coins of Nara Narayana found earlier are preserved in the following places :
   (*a*) The Asiatic Society : *JASB*, 1856, p. 457.
   (*b*) The Cooch Behar Treasury : *Kuch Beharere Itihas* (Bengali), Vol. 1, p. 282.
   (*c*) The Shillong Cabinet : *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Assam*, I p. 211, Pl. III.
   (*d*) -Do-
   Here "*Bhupalasya*" is absent on the obverse legend. p, 363 ; Pl. III.
   (*e*) The Asiatic Society, *JASB*, 1874, p. 306; here also "Bhupalasya" is absent.
   (*f*) The Cooch Behar Treasury, now missing (cf. "*Koch Beharer Hithaisini Sobhar Karya Vivarani*"—A paper read by A. C. Ghosh in 1865).
4. See Aitchinson's *Treaties*, Vol. I, pp. 99-102.

ended with Bali Nārāyaṇa's death in 1637, and his successors were generally reduced to the status of zamindars.

King Lakshmi Narayana :

Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa was the son and successor of Nara Nārāyaṇa. A large number of coins of Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa have been discovered.[1] The coin described here comes from the same source as the above coin :

Metal, AR ; Weight, 10.25 gm. ; Size, 29 mm.

Obv. : Legend in Sanskrit and old Bengali (Maithili) script. Four line legend in double circle, with dots within, (1) *Śrī, Śrī ma* (2) *lakshmī Nārāya* (3) *ṇasya śake* (4) 1509, under a horizontal line.

Rev. : As on obverse. (1) *Śrī Śrī* (2) *Śiva charaṇa* (3) *kamala madhu* (4) *Karasya*.

(Coin of Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa, a bee on the lotus like feet of śiva, śāka 1509=1587 A. D.). **(PL. IV. 6)**

Some coins of Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa, preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere, show a figure 92 immediately below the Śaka year 1509. This has been taken by some as the era (*Rājaśaka*) of the Cooch Behar kings.[2]

No coins of Vīra Nārāyaṇa, the son and successor of Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa has been discovered, but a large number of coins (both full and half) of Prāṇa Nārāyaṇa, the son of the former, have been found (**Pl. IV. 12-13**).[3] But the University of North Bengal possesses no coin of Prāṇa Nārāyaṇa.

1. Twenty coins of Lakshmi Narayana are discovered of which seven are half coins. For discussion of the coins of Lakshmi Narayana the following works may be consulted.
   (1) Ghosal, *The History of Cooch Behar*, pp. 345-47.
   (2) *Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Eastern Bengal and Assam.*
   (3) "*Koch Behar Sahitya Sabhar Astabarsika karya Vivarani*", (1330 B. S.), p. 7. It records the find of 38 coins of Lakshmi Narayana and Prana Narayana from Tufanganj in Cooch Behar.
   (4) *JPASB*, 1910, Vol. VI, Article by H. E. Stapleton.
2. A. A. Khan, *History of Cooch Behar*, (Bengali), p. 285.
3. W. Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia* (No. MCCV.) reads the date of some coins of of Prana Narayana as 1666 saka, but Mr. A. A. Khan Chowdhuri ('*Kuch Beharer Itihas*' p. 287) thinks that the reading will be 1555 sake. The confusion of '5' for '6' is due to the Maithili character of the scripts,

During his reign Cooch Behar was temporarily occupied by Mir Jumla, the Bengal Governor of Aurangzeb, the emperor of Delhi ; and an imperial copper coin was struck there under the name of ' Alamgir-nagar.[1]

The *Rājopākhyāna* says that Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa had promised to emperor Jehangir that he would mint only half coins ; but in fact only after Prāṇa Nārāyaṇa, half coins were issued.[2] They were struck from the dies of full coins and bear only the central part of the legends.[3]

Four crowned silver half-coins are preserved in the Museum of North Bengal University. They weigh 4.8 grams. The legends on the coins are written in old Bengali (Maithli) script, and are incomplete. But they may be ascribed to the different rulers on the basis of certain signs and symbols peculiar to each of them.[4]

(a) and (b) : The half crest of a moon with a dot (̆̇) on the obverse. These two may be the coins of either of Upendra Nārāyaṇa (**Pl. IV. 14**), Devendra Nārāyaṇa or Harendra Nārāyaṇa. (**PL. IV. 7-8**)

The incomplete obverse legend as usual gives the name of the ruler and the reverse legend gives the portion of usual epithet " *Śrī Śrī Siva charaṇa-Kamala-madhukarasya* "

(c) The half crest of a moon with a cross (×) on the obverse. This may be the coin of king Dhairjendra (or, Dhairyendra) Nārāyaṇa. The obverse and reverse legends are as in (a) and (b). (**PL. IV. 9**)

1. " *Kuch Beharer Itihas* " (Bengali) p. 287 and " A Badshahi Tamramudra by Rakhaldas Banerjee (*Pravasi*, 1323 B. S., p. 382).
   (R. D. Banerji refers to a small silver coin, belonging to the Collection of Prafulla Nath Tagore of Calcutta and bears the legend in Bengali *Aorangajeva vadsaha Alamgir* on obverse and *Jarava Alamgirnagar Sam* (*vat*). The coin is very similar to Koch Behar Coins. (*NS*, XXXIII, p. 85-86). This shows that not only copper but silver coins were also issued as *sikka* during the compaign of Mir Jumla. *P.L.G.*)
2. Ghosal, *History of Cooch Behar*, p.350.
3. *Catalogue of Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Eastern Bengal and Assam* (1911), Chapter on, " Coinage of the Koch kings ".
4. Special signs were inscribed in the coins of Pathan and Mughul rulers. In the Narayani Coins also four variations of the signs are found under letter ' *Na* ' of ' Narayana ' on the obverse. (Ghosal, *History of Cooch Behar*, p. 355.
   There is great similarity between the signs of this Narayani and some Badshahi coins. *IMC.*, Vol. III, pp. 358-60.

(d) The half crest of a moon (˘) in the usual place on the obverse without any dot or cross, besides there is another symbol (⊙) a dot within a circle just beneath " *Na* " of *Narayaṇa* on the obverse. If we take it as the floral design, it may be ascribed to Rājendra Nārāyaṇa.[1] (**PL. IV. 10**)

King Sivendra Narayana :

Śivendra Nārāyaṇa was the son and successor of Harendra Nārāyaṇa. From his time modern Bengali script began to be used in the legends of the kings of Cooch Behar. A coin presented by Shri Gopal Sanyal of Jalapaiguri is described below.

Metal, AR ; Weight, 4.7 gm ; Size, 20 mm.

Obv. : Four line legend in modern Bengali script. (1) *Śrī Śrī* (2) *Śivendra* (3) *Nārāyaṇa* (4) *Nṛipa.*

Rev. : Four line legend in old Bengali (Maithili) character ; (1) *Srī Śrī* (2) *-va chara-* (3) *-mala ma* (4) *-rasya.*

(**PL. IV. 11**)

Among the successors of Śivendra Nārāyaṇa, Rāja Rājendra Nārāyaṇa instead of engraving Śiva's name on the reverse introduced the Coat of Arms i. e. a rampant lion[2] and an elephant with the Sanskrit legend in modern Bengali scripts : " *Yatodharma = Statojayaḥ* ". This system was followed by the two successors of Rājā Rājendra Nārāyaṇa. From 1929 onwards in the coins of Cooch Behar we are having the figure of tiger instead of lion.

In the year 1773 Cooch Behar became a subordinate princely state of East India Company and from 1774 A.D. the rulers of the state were deprived of their power of issuing coins in their names. From time to time, however, the company had to yield to the pressure of the ruling kings and the influential friends of the family to recognise the power of the kings to coin money in their names. It appears, however, that during the reign of Harendra Nārāyaṇa the controversy between the East India Company and the king arose on the question of issuing Nārāyaṇa coins.[3] Ultimately colonel Jenkins, the North Eastern Frontier Agent, prevailed

1. The *Rajopakhyana* says that the king Rajendra Narayana used a flower design in his coin.
2. From the *Rajopakhyana*, (chapter I) we know that king Nara Narayana for the first, time, seals with the emblem of lion. A. A. Khan, *Cooch Beharer Itihas*, p. 289, fn.
3. *Cooch Behar Select Records*, Vol. 1, p. 161 and Vol. II, p, 41, 52, 73.

upon the Accountant General to make some concession to the old king Harendra Nārāyaṇa in respect of his power of issuing coins in his name.[1] In 1845 the Agent of the Company was instructed to close down the mint of the Cooch Behar kings permanently.[2]

King Śivendra Nārāyaṇa is said to have minted about 1001 silver coins and a few gold coins as well at the time of his coronation and have sent a few of them to the Government as a gesture of his loyalty. And it became the usual practice among the later rulers[3] to issue few coins in their respective names at the time of their coronation.[4]

1. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 75.
2. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 123.
3. A. A. Khan : *Cooch Beharer Itihas*, I, p. 296.
4 I am indebeted to Prof. A. C. Roy, Vice-Chancellor, North Bengal University, for permitting me to use the coins of the University Museum.

MISCELLANEA

1

A FRESH HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS WITH HUMAN FIGURES

[PL. III]

The Government Museum, Madras, has recently noticed an interesting hoard of silver punch-marked coins from A. Nedungulam village, Manamadurai taluk, Ramanathapuram district, Madras State. The hoard consists of 212 coins. As regards fabrication and symbols the coins do not break any new ground as they are identical with those of many hoards reported earlier from practically all over India. The present article is not concerned with a detailed description of each, but its restricted object is to focus the attention on fourteen coins from the hoard which command our attention by virtue of the symbols of human figures punched on them.

The symbol of human figures on coins discovered in regions wide apart have been discussed by many scholars including Cunningham, Walsh, Theobald, Bhandarkar, Durga Prasad, Smith, Fabri, P. L. Gupta etc. Though the human figures are seen in many coins the other symbols in them admit of interesting variations. These include steel yard, arched chaitya on which a peacock is seated and many others. In the collection of silver punch-marked coins in the Government Museum, Madras, the human figures are to be found in the specimens in the hoards from Tirunelveli, Sankarankoil, Mambalam, Vembavur, etc. The present find from A. Nedungulam village is an addition to this type.

The fourteen coins from the Nedungulam hoard with which we are presently concerned are divisible into two types which for purposes of convenience we may term as A and B. In type A there are five coins which on the obverse have three standing human figures, caduceus (three ovals placed one over the other and bifurcated by a vertical line) and a

faint symbol recalling to mind the symbol illustrated by Allan.[1] On the reverse the coins have the symbols of a caduceus, a circle with a dot in the centre and with three tails and a symbol which looks like a drum (**Pl. III. 3**). In type B there are nine coins which on the obverse have three standing human figures, a steelyard and a peacock on a five-arched chaitya (or hill). On the reverse of these coins only a peacock on a five-arched chaitya is seen (**Pl. IV. 4**). Coins in type B have numerically greater incidence and the obverse symbols of this type are found on 69 coins from Amaravati; 243 coins from Barwani ; 16 coins from Patraha and one coin from many places like Gulbarga, Umrer, Thathari, Mathura, Machhuatali etc.[2] This type has not been represented in any hoard from the Tamil country before the present discovery of Nedungulam hoard.

Though the human figures are abstract and nothing definite can be made out of them at the present state of our knowledge, Theobald was inclined to believe that of the three figures represented the figure on the right is a male and the two figures on the left are female.[3] In some cases the third (male) figure has a diadem-like fillet hanging behind its head. Durga Prasad points out[4] that diadem-like fillet was not an Indian head-dress, and that only the Indo-Greek rulers struck it as a head-dress for the human figures on their coins, a practice which was followed by Śakas and Kushāṇas. He assigns coins of this type to the 2nd century B. C. or the early phase of the 3rd century B.C.

Spooner has held that the spacing of the three figures on his coin shows that there are more than three figures. According to him there are two pairs of human figures.[5] D. R. Bhandarkar has argued that the three human figures stand for three of the seven gems described in the Pali literature, namely *Stri* (Woman), *grihapati* (Treasurer) and *Parināyaka* (Prime Minister).[6]

There is another form in which the symbol of three human figures are shown, a form not represented in the Nedungulam hoard. In this the three figures are punched separately and not as one punch. This is found in five coins in the collection of the Madras Museum. On one

1. BMCAI, p. 28, No. 18
2. P. L. Gupta, *The Amaravati Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins*, p. 108.
3. *JASB*, Vol. 59, 1890.
4. *JASB*, XXX, New Series 1934 (Numismatic Supplement).
5. A new find of Punch-marked coins in Peshawar, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1905-06.
6. Excavations at Besnagar ; *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1913-14.

rare and extremely interesting coin from Vembavur there are five human figures three of whom are punched together and two separately.

The occurrence of the symbol of human figures has been comparatively rare, although it has been noticed on a number of hoards.

P. N. MOHANDAS

2

PADMA-LAKSHAṆA-MUDRAS OF SAURĀSHṬRA

In the history of Indian numismatics the early coinage, styled punch-marked series, suffers from certain defects and deficiencies which baffle modern scholars engaged in it's study. It has been pointed out elsewhere[1] that the term *rūpaka* represents the earliest coinage of India styled punch-marked coins bearing figure, form or symbol. Symbolism is the unique feature of ancient Indian thought and coins moving from hand to hand in the different strata of society conveyed its message through these symbols. Of these symbols '*divya-pushpa*' (divine flower, probably lotus) according to *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* was one of the celebrated Sapta-ratnas of imperial splendour.[2] Coins bearing lotus are known to the ancient numismatists.[3]

Cunningham, suggested that "A Lotus flower (Sk. Padma), might refer to Padmāvatī, the old title of the famous fortress of Narwar, the capital of Rājā Nala."[4] *Mahābhārata*, an encyclopaedia of Hindu culture and civilization, exhibits different facets of the country witnessed by the epic-heroes in the course of their pilgrimage. While giving an account of the different tīrthas visited by the Pāṇḍavas, the epic refers to (gold or silver, probably the former) coins bearing the marks of lotus—a thing of wonder—probably studded in the floor of the shrine at Piṇḍāraka in Dvārāvatī Kshetra (Dwarka) :

तस्मिस्तीर्थं महाभाग पद्मलक्षण लक्षिताः ।
अद्यापि मुद्रा दृश्यन्ते तदद्भुतमरिंदम् ॥[5]

1. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, 1963, pp. 48-51.
2. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, 1964, pp. 51-52.
3. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, p, 123, No. 12; p. 125, no. 25.
4. *Coins of Ancient India*, (Varanasi, 1963), p. 57, no. 8.
5. *MBH*, Vanaparva, LXXXII, 66 (Gita Press Edn.). It is a common practice to spread the coins on the floor of the shrines in the tirthas even today.

The shrine was Śaivite in character hence lotus was also coupled with the symbol of trident :

त्रिशूलांकानि पद्मानि दृश्यन्ते कुरुनन्दन ।
महादेवस्य सांनिध्यं तत्र वै पुरुषर्षभ ॥[1]

Here, we find an allusion to the coins of western India, particularly Saurāshṭra, associated with the Province of Saurashtra and Kathiawar. Thus these *Padmalakshaṇa mudrās* mentioned here in the *Tīrthayātrā Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* represent the local coinage of Saurāshtra. It should be noted here that in this reference the word *mudrā* is used for the coins and hence there should be no confusion in the minds of the modern scholars who are in the search of a proper term in Hindi for coins. An attempt should be made to examine the coin-cabinets of the Gujrat-Kathiawar, for this type of old variety of the punch-marked coins, as Piṇḍārakatīrtha associated with Dvārāvatī, here in the Epic, is placed in the Dwarkā Kshetra.

It is believed that " the Greeks laid the foundation of the coinage in Gujrat, though a few coins have been discovered which have been ascribed to indigenous rulers of an earlier period. "[2] The reference to the *Padmalakshaṇa mudrās* in the *Mahābhārata* shows that Gujrat and its neighbouring region had its indigenous currency of the punch-marked variety prevalent in the other parts of the country.

Lotus exhibiting *Pārthiva-lakshaṇas*[3] (the features of sovereignty), represents the novel work of the creator comprising the countries, rivers and mountains.[4]

A. B. L. AWASTHI

3

COINS OF VISAKHADATTA ?

Two identical coins, one from Padam Pavaya in Madhya Pradesh and in deposit in the Gujari Mahal Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, and the other from Vidisa, also in Madhya Pradesh, have been published

1, Ibid, LXXXII-67.
2. Majumdar, A. K., *Chalukyas of the Gujrat*, p. 270.
3. *Harivamsa*, Bhavishya Parva, XII. 2.
4. Ibid, XII, 17.

in this *Journal* by H.V. Trivedi[1] and K.D. Bajpai[2] respectively, but the legend on these coins is read differently by them. Whereas Trivedi reads the legend as *Makhadata,* Bajpai does it as *Sakhadeva.* Before we proceed to examine the legend, details of the two coins may be given to facilitate their comparison.

Coin published by Trivedi

Metal, Æ.; shape, round; size, .55″ in diameter; weight, 37.5. grains.

Obv. : Trident in the right field : Brahmi legend (running round the edge) *Makhadata* with some traces of a letter like a *sa* after the last letter of the legend.

Rev. : Symbols are blurred. But one appears like a tree-in-railing and the other like a vertical rod to its left.

Coin published by Bajpai

Metal, Æ.; shape, round; size, .55″ in diameter; weight, 37.43 grains.

Obv. : A goad or staff with flag, with a spear below it and the Brahmi legend *Sakhadeva* on the edge.

Rev. : Blurred symbols, but faint traces of a tree-in railing are there.

It is not possible to verify the above details given by the authors of the notes on the coins because the reverse side of the coins is not illustrated and the illustrations of their obverse is not clear.

However, in metal, shape and weight the two coins are exactly similar. The minor difference in their weights may be easily explained: it was due to the fact that one is worn out more than the other. The symbol on the obverse on the two coins, in spite of it's slightly different descriptions by Trivedi and Bajpai, and the positions of the legend are the same.

As regards the legend, both Trivedi and Bajpai read its second and third letters as *kha* and *da,* but the first letter, which Trivedi reads as *ma* is clearly a *sa* as pointed out by Bajpai, and the last letter read as *ta* by Trivedi and *va* by Bajpai is equally clearly a *ta.*[3] The

1. *JNSI,* XVII, p. 53, pl. XV. 1.
2. Ibid, XXII, p. 133, pl. VI. 23.
3. The first and the fourth letters of the extant legend are clear on Trivedi's coin. On Bajpai's coin, which he had kindly shown to me, the legend may be read as I do it here.

legend may thus be read as *sakhadata,* and not *Makhadata* or *Sakhadeva* as proposed by the two writers, Trivedi the former and Bajpai the latter.

It is certain that the two coins were issued by the same king. But the name Sakhadata is rather unusual and nothing like it is so far known either from coins or other sources. Instead, Visakhadatta might sound better. Presumably, the first letter of the legend with the royal title, if there was any attached to the name, remained unimpressed on the coins. A Visakhadeva is known from coins from Ayodhya.[1] He is certainly different from Visakhadatta of the present coins.

While Trivedi assigns the coin from Padam Pavaya to first or second century A. D., Bajpai thinks that the Vidisa coin belongs to the second or third century A. D. These dates are evidently based on the palaeography of the characters on the coins. The form of the letters would better point to about 200 A. D. for them.

Trivedi thinks that the king who issued the coin was one of the many kings (whose coins also he has published) who ruled from Padam Pavaya before the rise of the Naga kings. The discovery of the coin of this king at Vidisa need not mean that Vidisa was included in his dominion, in the political conditions of those times. It appears the copper piece was taken to Vidisa by trade or by a traveller.

S. L. KATARE

4

SIX HEADED GODDESS ON YAUDHEYA COINS

V. S. Agrawala[2] has already thrown considerable light on the identification of six-headed male and female deities on Yaudheya coins. The former represents *Shaṇmukha* Skanda—Kumāra (Kārttikeya) on obverse whereas the latter he identified as his six-headed spouse Devasenā or Goddess Shashṭhī, so closely associated with child birth. Now

1. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pl. IX. 6, p. 92. Allan, BMC, *Coins of Ancient India*, pl . XIV. 14-16, pp. 131-321.
2. *JNSI*, V, pt. I, pp. 30-32; *Prachina Bharatiya Lokadharma* (Hindi), 1964, Varanasi, p. 67 citing text from the *Balagraha Chikitsa* Chapter of the *Kasyapa Samhita*.

Deenbandhu Pandey,[1] taking due note of the above facts, has recently suggested that the six-headed goddess, on the reverse of these Yaudheya coins, represents *Krittikā.* He rightly refers to six names of the Kṛittikās who nourished the child Skanda in a helpless condition, they had reared him up since the very day of his birth and that is why the name *Kārttikeya* was given to the male deity. *But nowhere we find any reference to one Krittikā alone and that too with all the six heads together meant for Skanda Kumāra.* Still more, we should not expect one Kṛittikā only on a coin associated with six-headed Skanda Kumāra. There is also no literary text to support it. It is therefore unreasonable to look for the depiction of six headed *Krittikā* on Yaudheya coins. The goddess on them is none else but Devasenā or Shashṭhī as stated specifically in the *Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IX. 46).

We should also look for early sculptures (Kushāṇa or Gupta) which could bear testimony to the depiction of Kṛittikās (divine nurses) in the plastic art of the country. A number of early terracottas, from various sites including Ahichchhatrā, present a vivid view of females, fondling and playing with children, carrying them on their laps and even suckling them in a graphic motherly attitude. Such clay toys may be grouped (of course tentatively) as *Krittikās,* shown in various forms and attitudes. During my exploratory tours in the Udaipur-Dungarpur regions of Rajasthan, I happened to discover a good number of sixth century sculptures at Tanesar, near Udaipur.[2] They consisted of an interesting statue of two armed Skanda and several independent statues of divine mothers. The latter comprised of standing females, each provided with a halo behind her head and associated with Skanda babe in the following contexts:—

(a) Suckling the child held in both the hands.

(b) Holding the child on her left lap.

(c) Fondling with the baby who is touching her leg and sometimes catching her hand etc.,

The halo behind the heads of the goddesses here clearly suggests their divine nature; the utter absence of a vehicle is also worth taking

1. *JNSI,* XXIX, pt. I, 1967, pp. 6-8.
2. R. C. Agrawala, *Lalit Kala,* X, 1961, pp. 31-33, plates XXI-XXII for the Tanesar images.

note of. It appears that all these female statues were enshrined in a religious structure, exclusively dedicated to *Kārttikeya*; all of them were probably worshipped together along with Skand Kumāra. It would not be reasonable to identify these sculptures, as simply *Mātṛikā* or Mother and Child Reliefs; they may connote *Kṛittikās*[1] the divine nurses, in the post-Gupta art of Western India. The popularity of *Śiva-Śakti* cult in this region is quite evident from the discovery of a number of somewhat similar and contemporary schist images in Gujarat as well. They do include the image of Skanda,[2] bearing close resemblance with the Tanesar statue discussed above.

A mediaeval stone relief from the State Museum at Lucknow (No. H.33) is also of great iconographic interest. It is complete in all its details, including the image of seated Śiva in the company of six female deities appearing likewise. All of them have been shown with a 'bull' as their vehicle, probably due to their *Śaiva* affinity. The females, carrying the babies on the laps, may represent the six *Kṛittikās*, each with a halo behind the head. Still more interesting is the *goat or ram's head for each of these 'divine mothers.'* This unusual device appears to have been executed because of the close association of Skanda with Agni as well. A Gandhāra statue, now preserved in the Victoria Albert Museum at London, even depicts flames coming out of the head of Skanda Kumāra as we notice in most of the statues of Agni—the God of Fire .Viewed in this light, the blending of six Kṛttikās, in the above stone relief from Lucknow Museum, deserves careful scrutiny. All the *Kṛittikās* have so far been shown quite separately and we are not aware of any composite form for them. It is therefore too much to identify the figure of six-headed goddess on Yaudheya coins with Kṛittikā unless we have some tangible reference in support of this identification.

A passing reference may be made to the six-headed and twelve-armed Skanda, in standing pose, on the back side of Pawāyā lintel (now in Gwalior Museum). He appears next to *Chakra Purusha* carved in relief. Skanda has got 3 heads to left whereas the remaining 3 heads towards the right, are completely mutilated. His six right hands are very well preserved while the opposite six are broken. This is therefore an unusual depiction of *Shaṇmukha* Skanda in the art of 5th century A. D. The utter

1. R. C. Agrawala, *Arts Asiatique*, Paris, XII, 1965, pp. 177-78.
2. He is shown with a single face in this group of sculptures, datable to the 6th century A. D,

absence of the cock and peacock is equally interesting. The position of heads for Skanda on Yaudheya coins is quite different i.e. three heads in the main row and the remaining three on the top above, in another row.[1] The post-Gupta bronze at the National Museum at New Delhi (No. 66. 487), of course presents the main head in the centre whereas the remaining five subsidiary heads (of Skanda) are shown on the border of the circular halo behind the central head. The iconographic details on the reverse of Pawāyā lintel, deserve careful attention in the above context.

R. C. AGRAWALA

5

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE MEANINGLESS LEGENDS ON THE SO-CALLED MALAWA COINS

The meaningless legends that appear on the so-called Malwa coins have been read as :— भपंयन, गजव, गोजर, हराय, जामक, जामुक, जमपय, मगच, मगज, मगजश, मगजव, मजुप, मपक, मपय, मरज, मपोजय, माशप, मछ, पय, यम......etc. These legends practically carry no meaning and sense. As such, they have set forth enough of speculations and conjectures among the scholars with regard to their meaning and attributions.[2]

Smith holds them to be the coins of some foreigners, for the legends have no similarity with the indigenous names. Allan, however, holds a different view. According to him, "They certainly do not look like Indian; but it is difficult to think what invaders could have struck them. They are too late for the Śakas and too early for the Huṇas, in addition, out of over twenty names, not one bears any resemblance to any Śaka or Huṇa name."[3]

Recently Bajpai[4] has controverted the above views on account of the discovery of some copper Śaka coins from Ujjain and Vidisā region

1. R. C. Agrawala, *JNSI*, XXIX (i), 1967, p. 41.
2. *ASIAR.*, Vol. VI, pp. 162 ff; Ibid, Vol.XIV, pp. 149 ff; *Indian Coins*, pp. 12-13; *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 160 ff, 170 ff; *JASB*, 1923, No. XXXVII, pp. 42 *BMCAI*, pp, civ ff; *Hindu Polity*, Vol. I, p. 218; *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 1 ff.
3. *BMCAI*, P. C. V. I.
4. *JNSI*, XXVIII, p. 47.

which on palaeographical grounds are assigned by him to the second century B.C. Hence the above so-called Malwa coins according to him may be the coins of the foreigners. He thus supports, in a way, the earlier views of Smith.[1]

If we accept the view of Bajpai, can we put these coins side by side with the indigenous republic-coins that have been discovered in abundance from the same region and during the same period specially when it is well known to the student of Indian history that the Indian republican tribes were always hostile and alien to the Śakas.

Over and above, the coins that have been found and discovered by Bajpai are not bilingual. They bear legends only in Brahmi script whereas the coins of the early Śaka invaders are bilingual i.e. the Greek scripts appear on one side and Kharoshthī on the other side. Thus under such circumstances the view of Bajpai will just only be a conjecture.

As against the above suggestions and views of some of the scholars, Douglas and Chakraborty have held that they were the coins of the Malwa chiefs.[2] This has been further supported by Dasgupta on epigraphical evidence.[3] He has tried to show that in the third century A.D. the Malwas were flourishing as a republican tribe and their country was known as मालवगण विषय. Thus Dasgupta does not believe what Sircar[4] says. According to Dasgupta, "we have no reason to suppose that in the second-third century A.D. the Malwas were not in a position to issue their own coins. Also it is not certain whether these coins were imitation of the genuine Malwa money. The Indian Museum specimen which definitely bears the name of the tribe i.e. मालव along with मजुप the name of a cheif of the tribe rather shows that they were in all likelihood genuine Malwa issues."[5]

1. Cf. *Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Saugar University*, No. I, p.10. (The names of Hamugama, Valaka etc. mentioned above, offer an interesting clue to the problem relating to some inscribed coins, akin to the Malawa coinage of Rajasthana. Smith in his catalogue has mentioned these rulers, whose names are भपंयन, मजुप, मपोजय, मगजश, यम, गजव, etc.
2. *JASB*, 1923, *NS*, No. XXXVII, pp. 42 ff; *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 189 ff.
3. *JNSI*, XXVIII , p. 53.
4. *JNSI*, XXIV p. 4 (Sircar asserting on the views of Allan said that they represent the meaningless attempts to reproduce parts of मालवानां जयः but are not the genuine monetary issues of the Malwas. According to him local goldsmith minted the imitation coins in order to meet the requirements of the people who were used to the Malwa coinage.)
5. *JNSI*, XXVIII, p. 54.

From the foregoing observations, it thus appears that scholars have mostly based their arguments on conjecture and surmises. It is, therefore, necessary to take into account the factors and forces which led to the issue of such coins. Most of the coins which are issued by the republican states are in the name of their tribes but what factors and forces exactly weighed in the issue of these coins by the Malwa chiefs have to be considered.

The foreigners were coming into India in large numbers and were bringing states one after the other under their control. Thus to check the disintegration of the states and to stop the states from further going into the foreign yoke, it was but necessary that some powerful king or chief may come in and under such circumstances the people made the post of the head of the states (republican) hereditary and invested the ruling chief with more powers. These ruling chiefs ultimately were successful in stopping the inroads of the foreign invasions.

Gradually, besides, the ruling other chiefs also developed the ambition of becoming विजिगीषु and each one tried to gather power and to carve out some independent principality of their own. This led to the growth of a number of ruling chiefs. So it is just possible in such a state of affairs that some Malwa chiefs might have gathered enough of power and started issuing coins under their own names.[1]

P. K. JAYASWAL

6

ANOTHER COIN OF KING SEBAKA

[PL. II]

Mirashi has published a copper coin of King Sebaka,[2] from Hurmuz Kaus Collection at Hyderabad. This coin has on its obverse the figure of a bull walking r. and a legend on its top which reads : *Raṁno Sebakasa*. The reverse of this coin has two symbols resembling the Nāga symbols and the Nandipada, depicted on double-lined orbs and having pellets in the centres. The chief feature of this coin is a counter-struck mark on the body of the bull which resembles the "Tree-

1. Cf. Author's book *Gupta Kalina Uttara Bharata Ka Rajnitika Itihasa*, Patna, 1965, pp. 48, 49, 61, 62.
2. *JNSI*, VII, p. 94.

in-railing". Mirashi has not been able to assign any definite reasons for the counterstriking of this coin.

Recently I was able to pick up another coin of King Sebaka of identical fabric from the Balasaheb Patil Collection at Paithan. This coin is exactly similar to the coin published earlier but without the counter-struck mark on the body of the bull.

The coin may be described as follows :

Cast copper; Squarish in shape ; Size, 2.4 cms. × 2.4 cms. ; weight, 3.5 grammes.

Obv. : A bull facing right with a hill of six arches in front. The base of the hill is joined to a vertical line which ends in a serpentine curve, representing a river, placed horizontally below the figure of the animal. It is apparently indicated to show that the river was issuing out of the moutain. Two minute svastika whorls are shown on the top of the chaitya and on the back of the Bull. A large triangle-headed banner appears over the hind portion of the animal. The top-most portion of the coin contains the legend reading *(Ra)ṁno Sebakasa* in Brahmi characters of *circa* third cent. B.C. This legend is closely related to script found in the edicts of Aśoka or is slightly later. In any case it is earlier than the forms of Brahmi met with in the inscriptions of the Śātavāhana Period (200 B.C.—100 A.D.).

Rev. : The Nandipada and the Nāga symbols, exactly similar to the coin illustrated by Mirashi. On the whole the coin seems to be in a better state of preservation. **(Pl. II. 4)**

The coin was found in the bed of the river Godavari at Paithan and this provenance is of great significance. Mirashi's coin came from a general collection and as such it could only be surmised that it was from somewhere in the former Hyderabad State. With the finding of the present coin at Paithan proper it is now almost certain that the ruler Sebaka who issued it almost certainly ruled over the region in the vicinity of Paithan. With this clue it seems possible that the only dynasty who could have counter-struck it with the 'Tree-in-railing' symbol, could be no other than the early Sātavāhanas for the following reasons.

Before the so-called 'Ujjain' symbol came to be universally adopted by the Sātavāhanas as the reverse mark on their coins, the 'tree-in-railing' was perhaps the only symbol which was continuously used by the early Sātavāhana rulers on their coins. In fact hundreds of coins, both in

lead and copper, are recovered from the ancient mounds at Paithan, which use this symbol exclusively. For want of legends on them, these cannot categorically be assigned to the Śātavāhanas, but there is stratigraphical evidence to show that they belong to the Śātavāhana period. Taking this clue it is almost certain that when Paithan came under the Sātavāhanas they re-circulated the coins of the previous ruler King Sebaka by restriking his coins by the 'tree-in-railing' motif.

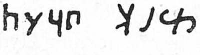
This coin incidently proves that Sebaka was an independent ruler of the region around Paithan and was a predecessor of the Sātavāhanas. The palaeography of the legend seems to support this view. It may be said that the early date of this coin was challenged by Altekar, but in view of the clear specimen before us, the view expressed by Mirashi seems to us to be nearer the mark. A. S. Altekar was inclined to think that king Sebaka may have been a feudatory of the Śātavāhanas, perhaps before the conquest of the Deccan by Nahapāna. But, in view of what has been said above, it seems possible that the coin was re-struck by the Early Sātavāhana rulers than by the later rulers of that dynasty who seem to adopt the Ujjain symbol as the reverse mark of their coins.[1]

M. G. DIKSHIT

7

COINS OF PRAHATA

[PL. II]

A copper coin (wt. 6.940 gms, size .9×.82; no. Whitehead 3701) in the British Museum bears a royal bust to left on one side and the figure of Nike standing to left on the other. It has on the obverse the legend *Mlk* (*on left*) *Prht* (on right) () in the Aramaic script and on the reverse the Kharoshṭhī inscription *Maha-*(*ra*)*jasa*.........*ta* (or *ra*)*sa*. (**PL. II. 1**). Simonetta thought that the obverse legend was in Kharoshṭī, and he read it as *Dajapatirāja*.[2] A close scrutiny of the letters—particularly the first two-clearly suggests that these belong to the Aramaic alphabet. Hence, A. Simonetta's reading does not appear to be correct.

1. I am thankful to Shri Balasaheb Patil of Paithan for the loan of this coin and for allowing me to publish the same.
2. *East and West*, VIII, p. 49.

In the reverse legends of two other copper coins is the British Museum collection(wt. 6.424 gms. size. 91 $\times$ 65, no. Whitehead 3704; wt. 5.956 gms, size .82 $\times$ .76, no. Whitehead 3708), having identical types, the issuer's name appears in the expression *Prahata* (or *ra*) *sa*. The letters *s, n* and *b* of the Aramaic script appear on the obverse of one of these two coins, (no. Whitehead 3704) (**PL. II. 2**), while the expression *s'* ( ) in the same script may be recognised in the obverse legend of the other (no. Whitehead 3708) (**Pl. II. 3**).

G. K. Jenkins and A. K. Narain read the reverse inscription on a similar copper coin[1] as *Maharajasa tratarasa.....paharasa.*[2] However, the obverse legend of the first coin (*MLK Prht*) suggests the reading *ta,* in place of *ra,* of the word read as *paharasa*. Such a reading leads to the assumption that both the obverse and reverse inscriptions refer to one and the same person. Legends on both sides of a coin generally do this, though exceptions are not unknown. Moreover, there are some phonetic similarities between the portions of the words concerned (*Phrt, ta* (or *ra*)*sa*, *Prahata* (or *ra*)*sa* and *Pahara* (or *ta*)*sa*. Hence, our suggestion to read *ta,* in place of *ra,* appears to be justified.

The term *Mlk*, i.e. *M'l k'*, signifies 'lord' and also 'sovereign'. *s'* probably stands for *śāh* denoting 'king'. If vowels are inserted after the first and second letters of the expression *snb,* it may be related to the word *sanab*, which appears probably as a royal title on coins of the Kushāṇa ruler Heraos or Miaos.[3] The expression *Maharaja* certainly means 'great king'.

These copper coins, bearing a royal bust to left on the obverse and the figure of Nike with wreath to left on the reverse, then belong to a king called Prahata or Phr(a)t(a). Palaeographically these coins can be dated to *c.* first century A.D.

It is interesting to note that members of the group of the Parthian or Indo-Parthian ruler Gondophares I, who ruled in the same century, had copper coins bearing identical types. As these coins are ascribed to a

1. *NS*, XIV, pl. XXXIV, no. 21.
2. G. K. Jenkins and A. K. Narain, *The Coin-Types of the Saka-Pahlava Kings of India*, p. 25.
3. B. B. Mukherjee, *Studies in Kushana Genealogy and Chronology*, Epilogue, fn. 3.

mint or mints of the territory once included in Arachosia.[1] Prahata's coins may be assigned to the same area. However, these bear Aramaic and Kharoshṭhī inscriptions, and not the usual Greek and Kharoshṭhī legends noticeable on the Arachosian issues of the group of Gondophares I and earlier dynasties. Hence Prahata's coins should be dated after their species. And as the name *Prahata* or *Phr(a)t* very much resembles the Parthian name *Phraat(es)*, he may very well have been a later member of the group of Parthian or Indo-Parthian ruler Gondophares I.

We may note here that the *Vita Apollonii* refers to one Phraotes as the king of Taxila.[2] According to certain chronological data furnished in this treatise, he was the ruler of Taxila in *c*. A.D. 46[3]. The similarity between the names of Prahata and Phraotes and the apparent chronological proximity of their reigns may tempt one to identify the two. It must, however, be conceded that such data do not necessarily warrant this inference. Hence any attempt to identify or connect Prahata with Phraotes may best be regarded as a hypothesis.

The coins in question, however, certainly indicate the existence of a ruler called Prahata. Their importance thus can hardly be overestimated.

B. N. MUKHERJEE

8

THE TITLE DEVAPUTRA ON KUSHANA COINS

[PL. I]

A. Cunningham read the word *Devaputrasa,* i.e. 'of Devaputra', in the reverse legend in Kharoshṭhī on two copper coins (humped bull to r. : two-humped Bactrian camel) now in the British Museum. The reverse inscription refers to *Kuyula Kara Kaphsa*.[4] However, J. Allan and F. W. Thomas were of the opinion that the reading *Devaputrasa* was an error.[5] The same view has also been expressed by Prof. J. N. Banerjea.[6] F. W.

1. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress,* 1965, p. 66.
2. Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, II, 26.
3. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Lower Indus Country,* c. A. D. 1-150, (in press), bk, II, ch. I.
4. *NC,* 1892, pp. 66-67. A. Cunningham deciphered the reverse legend as *Maharayasa Rayarayasa Devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kapshasa.* The obverse legend in Greek is illegible.
5. *B. C. Law Volume,* pt. II, p. 307 and fn. 2.
6. *JNSI,* Vol. IV, pp. 77-78.

Thomas observed that the term *Devaputra* did not occur in official documents of the Kushāṇas including their coins, even though it appeared in association with the names of the Kushāṇas in several private records. This means, according to F.W. Thomas, that *Devaputra* was not a title, "but a complimentary epithet, current only amongst the Indian subjects of the Kushāṇas."[1]

A study of several copper coins in the British Museum, the reverse legends of which mention the name *Kuyula Kara Kaphsa* (variant readings *Kayala Kara Kapasa, Kujula Kara Kaphasa, Kujula Kaphasa, Kujula Kara* and *Kuyula Kaphasa*)[2] has convinced us that portions of the word *Devaputra* can be traced on at least twenty-two pieces.

On one of them (accession no. 1821) the word *Devaputra* is clearly legible. The reverse inscription of this coin, part of which is out of flan, can be read as (VII)........,

i.e......... (VII) *Devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kaphasa* (pl. I. 8). On the basis of the study of the twenty two coins mentioned above, the full legend may be reconstructed as *Mahatasa Rayatirayasa Devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kaphasa*. Greek legends on the obverse of all these coins are illegible.

The expression *Kara* has been related by F.W. Thomas to the term *Kala*[3], occurring in certain Kharoshṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan.[4] T. Burrow thinks that the word *Kala* means 'prince'.[5] At least from the contexts of its use it appears to have stood for a title.[6] *Kara* may also be compared with *Ka'ra* found in some Khotanese texts[7] and probably used as a title.[8]

H. W. Bailey has shown that from Old Iranian **Kāta-paisa,* meaning 'of honoured form', could have been derived the Middle Iranian *Kadaphes* and *Kadphis(es)*.[9] He has also observed that in *Kapphiśa,* occurring

1. *B. C. Law Volume,* pt. II, p. 300.
2. *NC,* 1892, p. 67; R. B. Whitehead, *PMC,* I, p. 180; J. Marshall, *Taxila,* vol. II, p. 818.
3. *Fetschrift...H. Jacobi,* p. 51.
4. A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senart, *Kharosthi Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan,* pt. II, nos. 622, 634, etc.
5. T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoshthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan,* p. 82.
6. See n. 7.
7. H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts,* vol. IV, pp. 30, 50, etc.
8. See also ibid, pp. 146-147; *Asia Major,* NS, 1951, vol. II, p. 9.
9. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* vol. XIII, pp. 396-397.

on V'ima's coins, "we have the Indianisation of the foreign name, of which...*Kadphises* is linguistically an older form."[1] *Kapphiśa* and *Kadphis(es)* are found respectively in the reverse and obverse inscriptions of several coins of V'ima.[2] *Kapiśa*, appearing on some of his coins apparently in place of *Kapphiśa*,[3] is probably a variant of the latter. Again, as *pa* often changed into *va* in N.W. Prakrit,[4] *Kapphisa*, could have developed into **Kavphiśa*. The form *Kavphisa*, with dental *sa*, is attested by the Khalatse inscription.[5] With the elision of intervocalic *va* one can have the form *Kaphisa*. On the analogy of the occurrence of *Kadaphasa* on some Kushāṇa coins[6] apparently in place of *Kadaphisa*, *Kaphasa* can be related to **Kaphisa* <*Kavphisa*, and *Kapasa* to **Kapisa* (=*Kapiśa*) <*Kapphiśa*. As elision of vowel is not infrequent in the variety of Prakrit attested by the Kharoshṭhī documents from Central Asia,[7] *Kaphasa* could have developed into *Kaphsa*. These arguments tend to connect *Kapasa*, *Kaphasa* and *Kaphsa* with *Kadaphis(es)*, which was used as a title.

Kayala, *Kuyula*, etc., are probably different attempts to render the name of Kujula, the father of V'ima.[8] In fact, the name *Kujula* appears on some of these coins.[9]

Thus the word *Devaputra* occurs before the name of the Kushāṇa ruler Kujula on some copper coins. This suggests that the term *Devaputra* was a royal title and not a mere complimentary epithet. **(PL.1.8)**.

1. Supra, p. 191 fn. 9. However, see also K. Hoffmann *et al*, *Handbuch Der Orientalistick*, vol. IV, *Iranistick*, p. 26 and fn. 1.
2. *PMC*, vol. I, p. 183. What R. B. Whitehead deciphered as *Kathphisa* should be correctly read *Kapphisa* (*BROAS*, vol. XIII, pp. 396-397).
3. *PMC*, vol. I, p. 184.
4. S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I, p. ci.
5. *BSOAS*, vol. XIII, p. 397.
6. *PMC*, vol. I, p. 182.
7. T. Burrow, Op. cit., pp. v, 4, etc. (c. f. *Yoksena Yogasena*).
8. Cf. The form *rayatiraya* appearing on coins in place of *rajatiraja*.
9. If this line of reasoning is correct, we need not support A. Chunningham's suggestion that Kujula Kara was a son of the founder of the Kushana dynasty (*NC*, 1892, p. 68), or E. J. Rapson's attempt to differentiate Kujula Kara Kadphises from other known Kushana rulers (E. J. Rapson, editor, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 584); see also R. C .Majumdar (editor), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 140-141. The Chinese, text *Hou Han-shu* (ch. 118, pp. 9-10) also associates only one Kushana monarch with any part of the Indian subcontinent before the reign of Yen K-ao-chen or V'ima. He is Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh, i.e. Kujula.

The word *Devaputra* can also be noticed in an inscription (*Maharajasya Rajtirajasya Devaputrasya Kanishkasya Prayoge*) on a seal found at Kosam.[1] As royal seals are generally considered as official products, we can assume that *Devaputra* was also a title of Kanishka (I). The same term can also be noticed on the statue of Kanishka I found at Mat (near Mathura),[2] which was most probably the site of an official sanctuary.

It can be inferred from these premises that *Devaputra* was used as a royal title by the Kushāṇas.[3]

B. N. MUKHERJEE

9

TWO RARE KUSHANA COINS

[PL. I]

Here I publish two rare Kushāṇa coins from the collection of Rao Harnarain Singh Dhan Singh. One of them is a gold *dinar* of Kanishka with Luhraspa on the reverse and the other is the copper coin of Huvishka with Vado on the reverse.

1. AU. Size .75″; weight 7.805 grammes (121 grains)

Obv. : King standing to left, wearing a long coat up to knees and top-boots, placing something on altar with right hand and holding a long sceptre in his left hand. Legend around *Shao Nano Shao Kaneshki Koshano*.

Rev. : Bearded male deity standing frontally but turning right, wearing diadem, long coat, under-garment and boot and holding a round object (diadem ?) in right hand. Behind

1. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. XVI, p. xxxix.
2. *ARASI*, 1911-12, p. 126 and pl. LVI.
3. It is interesting to note that Chi-yu-ku, a Little Yueh-chih monarch of the 2nd century B. C., is referred to in the *Shih-chi* as " Jo-chu King ". Jo-chu=Middle Chinese *nyak-tsio* (earlier *nyak-tsia*) can be connected with Tocharian A *nacki* (*nkat*) and Tocharian B *nakc(i)ye* (*nakte*), meaning " godloke or dridivine " (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1966, p. 19). So the expression " Divine King " or " God King " was known among the Little Yueh-chih as a royal title. The Little Yueh-chi formed a branch of the Yueh-chih, to which the Kushanas belonged. *Devaputra* can be associated with the same class of titles.

him a horse in profile to right with its foreleg off the ground. Legend *LROOASPO* on right and monogram on the top left. **(PL. I. 5)**

No coin of this type is represented in the Punjab Museum Catalogue. If any coin of this type is in any Indian Museum is not known so far. British Museum possesses a coin of this type from Cunningham's collection. Whitehead is of opinion that the coins of this type are much forged.[1] But the present coin does not seem to be forged. In view of these facts, the coin is important, hence being published here.

The reverse legend is read as LROOASPO and is interpreted as *Luhraspa*. It is identified with the Zend word *Auravataspa,* meaning "swift-horsed".[2] It is said to be the epithet of both Sun and the god Apāṁ-Napat, the grandson of the water. Certain scholars have read the legend as *DROOASPO*—the deity Druvaspa, the guardian of the health of beasts.[3] It is pointed out that in eastern Iranian language an initial *L* frequently seem to represent a D. Rosenfield has pointed out that Apāṁ-Napat was associated with Mithra (Sun-god) and Druvaspa both and was concerned with the preservation of Khvareno, the legitimate authority of princes.[4] This might account for the act of proffering the diadem on the above coin.

2. Æ. Size .95″, weight 183 grains.

Obv. : King seated profile astride elephant facing right holding aṅkuśa and spear. Traces of the Greek legend.

Rev. : Male bearded figure running to left, holding the two ends of some object in his two hands, which flows over the head. Faint traces of the legend OADO. **(Pl. I. 6)**

The obverse is quite artistic, elephant is shown in a natural pose, which is rare on the copper coins. The reverse representation also differs from the representations seen on other coins. The coins having elephant-rider obverse are rarely known having Vado (Wind) reverse.

U. S. RAO

1. *PMC*, I, p. 194.
2. Stein, *IA*, XVII, p. 91.
3. Bloch, *ZDMG*, LXIV, p. 739.
4. *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas*, p. 79.

10

ARDHANARISVARA ON THE COIN OF KANISHKO (LATER KUSHANA)

[PL. I]

The appearance of Kushāṇas on Indian horizon opens up a new chapter in the study of the iconographic features of Śiva. The Śaiva cult assumes various forms on their coins.[1] Among the plates of the *Punjab Museum Catalogue*, we have come across an interesting representation[2]—a gold coin of KANISHKO, a later Kushāṇa. According to Whitehead the icon on the reverse side of the coin is the same as represented on Vāsudeva's gold coin;[3] Whitehead gives the following description in the catalogue:

"Legend—*OHPO* (*Oesho*)

Two armed Śiva standing to front, with noose in right hand and long trident in left; behind him bull standing to left."[4]

But at a closer scrutiny the reverse device (**PL. I. 7**) reveals following features[5]:—

i) in contrast to the right chest the left side has a bosom of a woman with a round well developed breast;

ii) necklace adorns the neck; and

iii) the right half of the chest has *Yajñopavīta*.

If it is true then it would be more plausible to place this coin on the top of the ladder while tracing the iconographic development of the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva. The iconographic features of the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva are given in the Āgamas.[6]

In accordance with the description, the concept of the image should be half man and half woman. The right half of man should be adorned

1. Banerjea, J. N., *DHI*, 2nd edition, The representation of Siva given by Gardner in p. 148 of his British Museum Catalogue (Pl. XXVIII, 16) has been described by Banerjea, " The device seems to show the beginning of the interesting composite icon of Hari-Hara of subsequent days" pp. 123, 124.
2. Whitehead, *PMC*, PL. XIX, 231 (reverse).
3. Ibid, Pl. XIX, 209 (reverse).
4. Ibid, p. 208.
5. See line drawing.
6. *Amsumadbhedagame, Kaikagame, Superbhedagame, Silparatna, Karnagama* etc.

with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, with a crescent moon on the head. In the right ear there should be the *makra-kuṇḍala*, *sarpa-kuṇḍala* or an ordinary *kuṇḍala* and the right half of the forehead should have one half of an eye sculptured in it. The image of Ardhanārīśvara may have two, three or four arms.[1] The whole of the right side should be adorned with the ornaments peculiar to Śiva and the chest on the right side should be exactly of a man. On the right side the garment should cover the body below the loins only up to the knee and the material of the garment is the tiger's skin and silk.[2]

On the right half of the chest there should be the Nāga *Yajñopavīta*.[3] On the head of the left side there should be a *karṇḍamakuṭa* or a fine knot of hair well combed and divided, or both. On the forehead of this half, a half *tilaka* mark, contiguous with the half eye of Śiva should be shown. In the left ear there should be a *kuṇḍala* known as *vālikā*.[4] If there are only two arms, the left one may be hanging below, or keeping in it a mirror, a parrot or a flower, or it may be bent and resting upon the head of the bull. On the left side there should be a round well-developed breast of a woman.

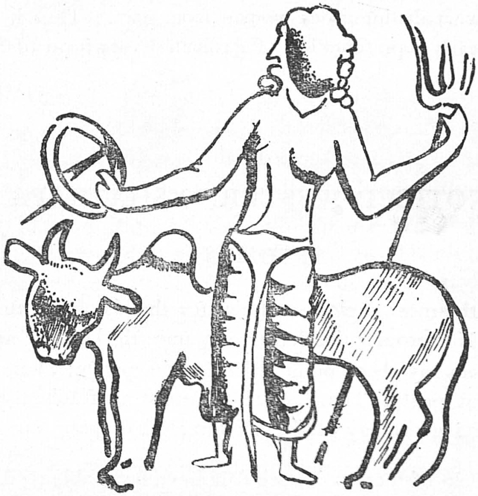
It may be argued that the left half of the head of the figure should have been plaited; and the left hand should have held a mirror, flower or a parrot. The legend should have been *Nana-Oesho* instead of *Oesho*.

Of course due to defaced representation we are unable to explain the distinction between male and female features. Decidedly many of these contentions go against the plausible proposition, but it must be borne in mind that a lady ordinarily stands with left leg released in an easy manner; and this may further be necessary in order to differentiate between the leg of a man and a woman of the same figure—which appears to be the case on the coin as well. That leg is covered up to the calf with folds, possibly of *sārī*.[5] Further the non-appearance of other things should be more aptly attributed to the smallness of the coin, the possible foreign nativity of the mint master, and the dust of the times. Further if we reject the above three assertions and hold the mint master to be an Indian, then we may say that the craft-master was not strictly adhering

1. Gopinath, Rao, T. A. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, p. 324.
2. Ibid, p. 324.
3. Ibid p. 325.
4. Ibid, p. 325.
5. See Pl. I. 7, or line drawing or *PMC*, Pl. XIX, 231.

to the iconographic norms prescribed and traits and features detailed in Brahmanical texts.

It was merely an attempt on his part to represent an Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva. One quarter stater of Huvishka[1] has two figures,



SKETCH OF ARDHANARISVARA FORM OF SIVA

one male and the other female, standing facing one another, the former is described as *Oesho* (*Bhavesha*) and the latter as *Nana*. Prof. Banerjea opines that now there can be little doubt that here *Nana* is identified by the die-cutter with *Umā*, the consort of Siva; whose figure is also to be found on a unique coin of the same Kushāṇa ruler, where the goddess was correctly described as *OMMO* (*Umā*) by the die-cutter.[2] This impelled the die-cutters belonging to later Kushāṇas to merge both the deities in one; it is significant that this union met with a public success in the sculptures of succeding ages. It may be confirmed by the statement of Prof. Banerjea that, "It should not also be forgotten that by the time of Huvishka, the movement for cult amalgam and for combin-

1. *PMC*, p. 197, Pl. XVIII, 135.
2. Banerjea, J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd edition, p 126.

ing the iconography of two or more different cult divinities had already began".[1]

After all the art is the expression of mind in solid. The general pulse of the public had stirred the die-cutter and it made him pay homage in his own humble way to the feelings of the masses that have ever reigned supreme. He experimentingly puffing up one breast of the figure shew what distinguishes woman from man. Thus it was most probably an early representation of Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva.

OM PRAKASH SINGH

11

AN UNNOTICED WESTERN KSHATRAPA COIN

[PL. II.]

Coins are the most copious material for the history of the Western Kshatrapas. Numerous coins have been unearthed so far and details of most of them have been published either in form of catalogue or as an independent paper. These coins are most useful in framing the chronology and genealogy of the Western Kshatrapas.

With the help of these coins scholars have been able to discuss the problem of the end of the Western Kshatrapa rule. Before the discovery of the Sonepur hoard,[2] scholars generally opined that the Kshatrapa rule ended in or after Śaka year 310=(388 A.D.)—the date which is published by Prof. Rapson[3]—because till then this was the last known date of the Kshatrapa coins published so far. But after the Sonepur hoard was brought to light, Shri G. V. Acharya, who had examined this hoard and published a detailed article on it, had recorded two coins of

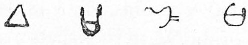
1. Supra, p. 197, fn. 2, p. 153; according to Whitehead figure is many headed, Gopinath Rao gives three faced Ardhanarisvara form of Siva from Darasuram sculpture. He writes, "In no Sanskrit work that has been examined do we meet with a description of Ardhanarisvara which agrees with the image whose photograph is produced here"; *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 332, Pl. XCVI, fig. 2.
2. This hoard was discovered in 1925 and its detailed report was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1937, vol. III, No. 2, pp. 95-97), Numismatic Supplement, No. 47.
3. *BMC, Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas etc.* 1908, pp. 192-194, plate, XVII, Nos. 907-926 and also its introduction, para 129.

the hoard as bearing the dates 31x and 312 and had attributed them to Swāmī Rudrasena III.[1] On the basis of this attribution, later R. C. Majumdar has built up his own views about the last days of the Western Kshatrapas. He has placed Swāmī Rudrasena III up to Śaka year 312 (=390 A.D.).[2] But the rare coins of this hoard which were distributed between the Nagpur Museum and Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, have been carefully examined by P. L. Gupta and he did not find any coin with these dates bearing either the name of Swāmī Rudrasena III or any other ruler.[3]

Then in 1960 K. V. Soundara Rajan published two lead coins of Swāmī Rudrasiṁha III, bearing the date Śaka year 314 (=392 A.D.).[4] This date helps us to conclude that the Kshatrapa rule came to an end round about that time.

But the purport of this paper is to introduce an unnoticed Western Kshatrapa coin of Swāmī Rudrasiṁha III. The coin, under study is noticed by the present writer while examining and identifying the Kshatrapa coins in the private collection of Shri S. M. Shukla of Bombay.[5] This coin can be described as follows :

Accession No. 389; metal, silver; shape, round;[6] find spot unknown.

Obv. : Bust of the King facing right. Behind it, date *varshe* 300 (+) 20 

Rev. : Three arched hill in the middle with crescent above & on the left alongwith sun rays on the right, below a wavy line, round the edge inside a border of dots. The legend

1. See Supra, p. 198, fn. 3.
2. *The Classical Age*, p. 49, 1962. It appears that both Shri Acharya and Dr. Majumdar had wrongly identified the coins. Here instead of Swami Rudrasena III, there must be Swami Rudrasimha III because Prof. Rapson has already published the coins of the later dated sake year 310.
3. *Bharatiya Vidya*, vol. XVIII, Nos. 3 & 4, p. 84, foot-note 7.
4. *JNSI*, vol. XXII, pp. 118-119.
5. Shri S. M. Shukla is a well known numismatist. He has in his cabinet more than 3000 coins right from punch-marked coins to the present day. In these he has as much as 555 coins of Western Kshatrapas which were made easily accessible whenever I requested him. With his kind co-operation, I had a chance of examining and reexamining all the Kshatrapa coins. I am much grateful to him for his generosity. With his kind consent I am publishing this coin.
6. Weight and size have not been taken note of by this writer.

runs thus at VIII : *Rajño Maha Kshatrapas Swam (i) Satya-siṁha Putrasa Rajño (Maha) Kshatra (pasa) Swam(i) Rudrasiṁha.* (**Pl. II. 16**)

Fortunately this coin is well preserved and one could read both the inscription and the symbols on both the sides.

The legend is almost complete and legible but some of the letters have their heads cut slightly.[1] As the name of the king, who issued this coin, and his father alongwith their titles can be easily read and so it appears quite clear that the said coin belongs to Mahā Kshatrapa Swāmī Rudrasiṁha III, son of Mahā Kshatrapa Swāmī Satyasiṁha.

The traces of the date are almost distinct except that the unit figure is some what cut on the upper right side of it[2]. There is no possibility of any third figure. Date follows the word 'Varshe' which is usually to be seen in some coins. The date on this coin appears to me to be Śaka year 320 i.e. 398 A.D.

Under the state of the available information therefore it is quite possible to say that this date is the last known date of the Kshatrapa chronology. On the basis of this date now, we can conclude that the end of the rule of Western Kshatrapas may be placed sometime after the Śaka year 320 (398 A.D.)[3].

R. *JAMINDAR*

12

THE FIRST HINDU COIN FROM JAVA

A good many coins have been found in Java, also from the Hindu period, but—apart from the Chinese coins, of course—they are of local fabrication : among all these finds one would seek in vain for one from India. It is most remarkable, therefore, that J. L. Moens has been able to obtain such a specimen. He acquired it from a native Civil Servant from the region of Prambanan, who stated that it came from the foot of the northern slope of the mountains, from the area of that

1. See photograph of reverse side.
2. See photograph of obverse side.
3. Paper read at the 56th session of the All India Numismatic Conference held at Lucknow in 1968.

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village which also comprises the ruins of Ratu-Baka. It proves to be a gold dināra of the Gupta king Chandragupta II.

The coin now measures 9 by 8 mm, the thickness being 1.5 mm. The obverse shows the figure of the king, standing with his right arm stretched out in front of a standard with the Garuḍa bird, while his left arm is bent upwards and, as we know from other examples, held the upper end of a bow. Above the Garuḍa the sickle of the moon is visible, below the bent of the left arm two very much worn characters, the upper one representing *cha* and the lower *ndra*. Of the inscription (to be expected to the right of the bow) nothing is left. On the reverse the goddess Lakshmī is shown sitting on a lotus; her right arm is stretched out, her left hand rests on her knee and is holding the stalk of a flower. Above the right arm there is the mint mark also adorning other Gupta coins, and which also appears on the specimens most nearly corresponding to the Javanese one, described under VII, 13 and 14 of Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* (British Museum, 1914). There is a difference in the number of petals of the lotus throne, for there are 9 here (and not 7).

King Chandragupta II, the conqueror of Gujarat, reigned from about 380 to 415; it was in his realm that the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien sojourned before he paid his visit to Java. It is not entirely impossible, therefore, that the coin was already brought across in those times, but considering the place where it was found in the midst of remains of Middle Javanese art we should more probably think of the close contact between Java and Bengal—most Gupta coins come from Bengal—in the Śailendra period. In the pratishṭhā ceremony it has always been a favourite practice to place precious old coins under the divine image, and indeed it is still so. Thus the coin of Chandragupta may well have formed part of the deposit at some ceremony of consecration in this area so rich in archaeological remains.

That on previous occasion a coin of Leopold I, king of the Belgians, turned up in the excavations of Pāṭaliputra, constitutes an extra warning, if that were still needed, not to base far-reaching conclusions on the finding of a single coin. Yet the appearance of the first authentic Indian coin from Javanese soil remains a fact deserving of attention[1].

N. J. KROM

1. Translated from Dutch by Mrs. G.E. van Baaren-Pape from *Bijdragen dot Taal-habd-in Volkenkunde can Nederlandsch-Indie*", Vol. 89, pp. 121 ff.

13

ANOTHER STANDARD TYPE COIN OF CHANDRA GUPTA II

[PL. X]

Chandragupta II issued various varieties of coins and quite a number of them are known. Recently I came across a rather rare variety of Chandra Gupta II coin in which the king is holding a standard like the Samudra Gupta coin. Altekar mentions[1] the find of a similar coin in 1890 by Rodgers which was not illustrated and which Altekar thought that petty Scythian ruler of Punjab must have issued. He also illustrated a coin of this type[2] and said that they might be the coin of *Bhadra.* A similar coin was published by Parmeshwari Lal Gupta.[3] This was later attributed to Chandra Gupta I by B. C. Chabra.[4] I am, however, inclined to accept the view of Altekar appended to the article of Chabra and ascribe this coin to Chandra Gupta II. On artistic grounds also the figure seems to be of Chandra Gupta II. The same posture of standing is noticeable as is in his Archer type of coin and the bends of the body are similar[5]. This coin is in the collection of Sri L.P. Gupta of Arrah—Bihar. Here the obverse and the reverse legends are both quite clear. On the left side of the king and inside the standard is the word *Chandra* and outside it is the word *Gupta* as it is the word on some of the coins of Samudra Gupta standard type[6]. On the reverse the legend on the left of the seated Lakshmi is *Paramabhāgavata.* This clearly proves that Chandra Gupta II did issue a coin of the Standard type and sets at rest the controversy that coins of this type were not issued by Chandra Gupta II.

This coin is of the sub-variety of coin found by Rodgers. Exact weight could not be taken but the coin weighs 119 grains with a hook which is attached to the top of the coin.

Obv. : The king is standing casting incense in the alter. *Garuḍadhvaja* is above the alter. King's left hand holds the standard with fillets. The legend is under the arm in

1. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 143-5.
2. Ibid, pl. I. 5.
3. *JNSI*, IX, pp. 146-150.
4. *JNSI*, XI, pt. I, pp. 19-31.
5. *BMCGD*, pl. VI, 4.
6. Ibid, pl. II, 4.

two parts *Chandra* on one side and *Gupta* on the other written in Brahmi vertically. The king is wearing a tunic and Dhoti. There is necklace of round beads on the neck earrings, armlets and bangles. Unfortunately the face is damaged. Obviously this was done when the hook was attached to the coin. The hallow is around the head of the king. The legend on the border is *Śri deva prithiviśvaraḥ* on the right and *vasudhāṃ vijitya jayati divaṃ*[1] on the left of the king.

Rev. : Throned Lakshmī carrying lotus pod with stem or a cornucopia. Halo is round the head of the goddess. She is wearing bodice, *uttariya* and *dhoti*. The legend on the left side of Lakshmi is *Paramabhāgavataḥ*. These details clearly show that this coin was minted on the pattern of Samudra Gupta's Standard type coin and must be the earliest type of Chandra Gupta II coins. **(PL. X 5)**

R. G. CHANDRA

14

A NOTE ON THE 'KARTTIKEYA' TYPE COIN OF KUMARA GUPTA I

The Gupta emperor Kumāragupta introduced several new coin types. Sometimes these coin types present an interesting study of the personal ventures, habits and religious faith of the king. The 'Peacock Type' coin of Kumāragupta is one of them which shows the religious bend and ambitions of the emperor as a solemn devotee of the god Skanda-Kārttikeya.[2] This coin type with several others, reckoned among the best specimens of the numismatic art of ancient India because of its artistic excellence and remarkable originality.[3] It seems to be devised with great care by the king himself, or under his directions, not only because it was a new introduction to the series but also as a representation understood to convey the emperor's homage and staunch devotion towards his *ishṭadevatā*.

1. Chabra restores it as : *Vasudham vijityajayati tridivam prithivisvarah* (*punyaiḥ*) *JNSI*, XI, pp. 16-17.
2. This is also known from his inscriptions.
3. Altekar, A. S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*.

The type has been described by Altekar as follows[1] :

Obv. : King, nimbate, standing bare-headed, and bare-bodied, wearing short *sakachchha dhoti,* necklace and wristlets, offering by his right hand a twig of grapes to peacock in his front, left hand hanging down and resting on hips. Usually king wears a curious conical ornament on the top of his head, circular legend, not fully read, beginning at I, जयति स्वगुणैर्गुणारविन्द: (?) श्री—महेन्द्रकुमार:

Rev. : God Kārttikeya, nimbate, sitting on peacock perched on a platform, holding a spear in left hand resting on waist and right hand bent up, opened out and scattering some round objects, apparently *puroḍāśas,* on an indistinct object before him, probably on altar. The God is bare-headed, has profuse hair and is bare-bodied; he wears earrings and necklace. No symbol. Legend on right. श्री—महेन्द्रकुमार:

In a variety (called B) of this type, the only difference in detail on the obverse is that the king is shown wearing a coat and is stooping slightly forward but without any distinct object in his right hand. Its reverse shows the bird perched on a platform, but both the god and his vehicle face to front.[2]

Altekar writes[3] : "Kumārgupta was named after Skanda *alias* Kumāra, whose mount was peacock. His Kārttikeya type, which is an innovation of the reign, was obviously intended to be a numismatic homage to the deity after whom he was named."

It seems, however, quite plausible that Kumāragupta had dedicated himself to Skanda worship from his early life, as is indicated by the introduction of a peacock on the reverse side of his coin types, e.g., class II of the Horseman Type[4] and the Tiger-slayer Type.[5] 'His special predilection for this martial god is also manifest in the name of one of his sons, viz. Skanda, if not of himself.' No doubt, his devotion towards the war-god must have increased greatly in the later part of his reign

1. Altekar, *The Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard,* Introduction, pp. 272-3.
2. Ibid, p. 274.
3. Ibid, Introduction, p. ci.
4. Allan, op. cit., pp. 73-4.
5. Ibid, p. 81.

when the tranquility of the kingdom was troubled by the Hūṇa invasion and the Pushyamitra rebellion.

But from a close study of the 'Kārttikeya' type much more light is shed on several of the interesting aspects about the religious life of the emperor.

On both the sides of this type, the legend we read has to repeat the phrase *mahendra-kumāra* (meaning 'Mahendra as Kumāra', or 'Kumāra (gupta) whose other name is Mahendra'). This has been accepted by scholars, that the obverse represents the king whose portrait is depicted on that side. On the reverse, it may well indicate the name of the god Skanda who is illustrated with his vehicle and characteristic weapon *śakti* or spear. But the above phrase inscribed on the obverse does not seem to be fully explained; the phrase *Mahendrakumāra* has a much more significance as it occurs on both the sides. It appears beyond doubt that the term *mahendrakumāra* stands through double entendre conjointly for the god Kumāra or Skanda-Kārttikeya and the king Mahendra or Kumāragupta. Further it may be suggested that this even indicates an identification of the king with his not only namesake deity but also *ishṭadevatā*. The king himself might have stressd on his identity with his beloved god. Therefore this coin type was issued by this king by his special royal prerogative with a particular purpose.

His personal name appears to have been *Mahendra,* as could be gathered from the legends of his several other coin-types.[1] He called himself *Kumāra* owing to his devotion to the god of that name, and with whom as a real devotee or *bhakta* considered himself identical to him.

The obverse depiction in which he occurs as feeding the peacock, now in the above light should be taken as representing the usual sport of the god who took delight in feeding his bird. This may be gathered from several of the finest Gupta images, e.g., the one in the Bharata Kala Bhavan. The depiction on the reverse again will be quite unusual if the peacock-mounted figure were taken only as representing the god Skanda. The figure with his right hand offers some incense[2] or some object on an altar.[3] The act of making offering on an altar should be all incongruous in the case of a god. It is a gesture, appropriate for a

1. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire,* Pl. XXII.
2. Allan, *BMC GD,* p. 84.
3. Altekar, *BHC,* p. 273.

devotee. And, in the present case this can have a justification only when the devotee-king and the god were identified. Bare-body of the figures, both on the obverse and reverse may also indicate to the same fact.

There is to be seen a curious conical shaped ornament worn on the head of the so-called 'Kumāragputa' figure. It has been identified by S. V. Sohani as the special headgear shaped and named after a peacock's plume, viz. *Śikhaṇḍābharaṇa*.[1] This ornament can only have relevance if the figure is identified for Kumāragupta as Skanda.

P. K. AGRAWALA

15

NALANDA CLAY SEALING OF MAHARAJADHIRAJA VAINYA-GUPTA

A triangular fragment of a clay-sealing measuring $1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{8}''$ was discovered from the site of monastery No. 1, at Nalanda, during the excavations of the years 1927-28. It bears register No. SI 687 and is preserved in the Archaeological Musuem at Nalanda. I had examined the fragmentary sealing, with the kind permission of the Ditector General of Archaeology in December, 1934 and had taken a reading of as much of the text as was preserved. The letters in the preserved portion were free from any ambiguity, and came out clearlyy in the tracings taken on Tissue paper, and supplied to me by the then Superintendent of the Eastern Circle.[2] On the basis of the original sealing and the paper impressions, I had read the emperor's name as Vainya-Gupta. Hiranand Shastri, who published the sealing in his excellent work *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Materials*, Delhi, 1942 also read the emperor's name as Vainya-Gupta. This reading has been recently challenged by Nisar Ahmad, vide his paper, published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XXIX, 44-45.

According to Ahmad, the first part of the emperor's name is Chandra and not Vainya. It is a well-known fact that in the script of the Gupta age, *Ch* and *V* are sometimes very much alike, and it can be

1. *The Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, Vo. I, pt. I & II, 1960, p. 23.
2. Unfortunately those excellent estampages so kindly supplied to me by Shri A. Ghosh were lost during the 1947 disturbances, at Lahore.

conceded for the sake of argument that the first letter may be *Ch*. But it is impossible to agree with Ahmad's view that, "what the editor of the seal has taken to be the medial vowel *ai* over this letter, is non-existent"[1]. Before making such a positive statement, it would have been better for Ahmad to examine the sealing or an impression of the same. As stated above, the letters on the original sealing are very clear and leave no room for any doubt. Of the two strokes needed for medial *ai* one is unmistakably visible on the accompanying impression, and there are traces of the second stroke also, so that this syllable has to be read as *Vai* and not simply *V* or *Ch*. What is even more pertinent to the issue is the second syllable, which Ahmad proposes to be read as *ndra*. This syllable too is very clear on the sealing as well as the impression. There is absolutely no trace of the horizontal stroke for the subscript *r* below this syllable. The bottom of the letter is absolutely free from any appendages. In this conjunct, the upper letter is *n* and the lower is subscript *y*. This syllable therefore is *nya* and not *ndra*.

The second member of the conjunct may by a stretch of imagination be read as *d* but similar formations in this very fragment show that the subscript *y* is formed exactly as it has been formed in this conjunct. We have to conclude therefore, that this syllable is *nya* and not *ndra*; and thus the name of the Gupta emperor is Vainya and not Chandra[2].

A reference to the plate will make two points very clear: Firstly the presence of the medial vowel *ai* over *v* is quite clear. Secondly the second conjunct consists of two letters only, and these are *n* and *ya*. There is no trace whatever of the subscript *r*.[3]

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL

1. *JNSI*, XXIX, 44.
2. A similar mistake was made by Mr. Allan while deciphering the name on the archer type coins of Vainya-Gupta Dvadasaditya. Allan missed the medial *ai* strokes over the first letter, and took it to be *cha*, and as a natural corollary, the second letter was taken by him to be *ndra*, although just as in the case of the present sealing, there was absolutely no trace of the subscript *r*. (*BMC,GD*, 144, Plate, XXIII, No. 8). The correct reading was recognised for the first time by D. C. Ganguli. (*IHQ*, IX, 784 ff.).
3. The impression supplied by the author is not clear and therefore it could not be verified. *Ch. Ed.*

16

COINS OF PARMAR NARAVARMAN

[PL. IV.]

The Parmaras of Malwa, were an important ruling race of the Medieval period. But little is known about their coins. The latest book on Medieval Indian coinage by Lallanji Gopal does not mention any coin belonging to this dynasty. But R.D. Banerji had published a gold coin of Gangeyadeva type bearing the name Udayadeva, as early as 1918 and has attributed it to Udyāditya (1060-1087 A. D.) of the Paramara dynasty.[1] Now I here publish gold and silver coins of his successor Naravarman (1097-1134 A.D.) of the same type.

1. Gold; shape, round; diameter ·8″; weight 5.6 grammes.

Obverse	**Reverse**	
Neatly executed Lakshmi, seated in padmasana	श्री मन्नर वर्म्मदे [व]	(PL. IV, 3)

2. Silver; shape, round; diameter ·7″; weight 3.0 grammes

Obverse	**Reverse**	
Same as 1.	श्री मन्नर वर्म्म [देव]	(PL. IV, 4)

The gold coin belongs to Sri Padamsingh and the silver one to Sri Santilal Pardeshi of Indore.

R. K. SETHI

17

THE ATTRIBUTION OF THE SRI-VIGRA COINS

In his book *Early Medieval Coin types of Northern India*, Lallanji Gopal, has illustrated and described a coin having the legend '*Sri Vigra*'[2] and discussed and placed it amongst the Indo-Sassanian coins. The coin is described as[3] :

Metal : Silver

1. *NS*, XXIII, article 203.
2. *EMCT*, pp. 4,14-16. pl. VII,9
3. Ibid, p. 67

Obverse	Reverse	
Rude head *'Shri'* in front of it and *'Vigra (ha)'* below.	Rude fire alter with attendants; *'Sa'* in the Centre.	*CCIM* XXV.10 VII.9

Lallanji Gopal has also attributed this coin to the Pala dynasty of Bengal (page 14-16). But he is doubtful about this attribution as these coins are found only in different parts of U.P. and Bihar and never in Bengal where Pala kings ruled. These coins are also found along with the *Ādivarāha* coins of Mihira Bhoja, the Gurjara Pratihāra king. They have the typical angular lettering of the Adivarāha coins. Similarly there is a crude fire alter which associates them with the Indo-Sassanian coins. If the coin belongs to the Pāla dynasty at least some of them should be found in the original home of Pālas in Bengal. They have been found there. Therefore Lallanji Gopal has doubted the attribution and bracketted it with the Gurjara Pratihāras (page 67).

The rude fire alter associates the coins with Sassanian group; the Pāla dynasty was never associated with the Sassanians. The coin of Devapāla of the Pāla dynasty (page 68; plate VII-14) would immediately separate it from the coin of *Śrī Vigra* for the reason its palaeography and the artistic perfection. Therefore, I think that we should look for king Vigra in those dynasties which are associated with Indo-Sassanian group.

According to the bardic traditions four races sprang on mount Abu, from the Agni Kund of Sage Vashishṭha. They are the Chauhāns, the Pratihāras, The Chālukyas and the Parmāras. This has led the historians to suspect that all these were of foreign origin possibly Hūṇas or Sassanians and were accepted in the Hinduism as Rajputs. This seems to explain the traces of fire-alter in Ādivarāha coins. Therefore Śrī Vigra should be looked for in any of these four dynasties. Since his coins are found along with Ādivarāha coins in the same area, therefore this king must be a close neighbour of the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

As said above, the coin in question has the angular letters, like the Ādivarāha coins of Mihira Bhoja, so this coin should belong to a period very near to the period of Mihir Bhoj, who ruled in the ninth century. A. D. The coin of *Śrī Vigraha* can only be placed within 100 years either before or after Mihira Bhoja.

If we look to the various dynasties that ruled between 750 and 1050 A.D., no Vigraha is known in the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty. So at no stress of imagination, the *Srī Vigra* coins may be attributed to that dynasty. The only dynasty, where Vigraha, as the name of any ruler is known is the Chauhāna dynasty of Śākambhari (now known as Sambhar in Rajasthan).[1] This line claims the descent from one Vāsudeva; but said, according to *Prithvīrāja Vijaya*, Samantarāja was the first king. He was succeeded by Purntalla, who was succeeded by Jairāja, who in his turn was succeeded by Vigraharāja I. Nothing is known about this king nor it is possible to put an exact date as to when he ascended to the throne. H.C. Ray places Samantarāja in about the middle of the 7th century A.D. which will place Vigraha rāja I somewhere very near to the beginning of the 8th century. Comparatively more is known about Vigraha rāja II. According to the stone inscription in the temple of Mahādeva on the hill near Haras in Sikar district of Rajasthan. Vigrahrāj was a king in 973 A.D. The third Vigraharāja, who is also known as Vishala or Vishwala, has been a contemporary of the Paramāra Udyāditya, to whom according to *Prithvirāja Vijaya*, he presented a horse named Sarang. The fourth Vigraha Raja came to the throne on or about 1153 A.D. and was the step brother of Someśwara, the father of the famous Prithvīrāja.

Now, palaeographically, the Śrī Vigraha Coins cannot be attributed to the third and fourth Vigraharāja. No inscription of Vigraha raja I is found and no historical evidence of his existence is available except a reference in the *Prithvīrāja Vijaya* ; and in time, he is much earlier than Mihira Bhoja; so, he may also be ruled out safely. Therefore it is only the Chauhān King Vigraha rāja, who may have issued the *Vigraha* coins.

Somlekhā Devī wife of Ajaya Rāja of the Chauhāna dynasty has a coin which may be placed in the Gadhiya group as it closely resembles with some of the Gadhiya coins. This lends supports to the tradition that the Chauhānas were foreigners, possibly Hūṇas or Sassanians and were later accepted in Hinduism. This would also explain the rude fire-alter in the coins of *Śrī Vigra* and further supports the attribution of the *Śrī Vigra* coins to the Chauhāna king Vigrāharāja II.

R. K. SETHI

1. One Vigrahapala is known amongst the Chauhanas of Naddula (Nadol in Marwar). One Lakshmana, according to the inscription of Surajapala at Nadol, ruled sometime about 882 A. D.; Vigrahapala was his second son; but he never ascended the throne. So, he is out of the picture in the present context.

18

A NOTE ON THE PADMA–TANKAS OF YADAVA BHILLAMA V

In an earlier number of this *Journal*, M. G. Dikshit has published a very important and interesting hoard of coins which he ascribed to Bhillama IV of the Yādava dynasty.[1] This is a very important discovery because, so far our knowledge of the Yadava coins was restricted to the rulers Singhana, Krishna, Mahādeva and Rāmachandra. Hence this hoard described by Dikshit brings to light the coins of an earlier ruler of the Yadava dynasty. He has ascribed these coins to Bhillama IV who according to him came to rule from 1191 A. D. Further, he writes " There were atleast five rulers bearing the name Bhillama in the Yādava lineage but Bhillama IV appears to be the most powerful amongst them and the palaeography of the legend supports this view. "[2]

But a close and careful examination of the genealogy of the Yādavas of Devagiri, also known as the Sevunas, reveals that there were six rulers bearing the name Bhillama and not five. The geneology of the Yādava dynasty is given by Hemādri in his Rājapraśasti which forms an introduction to his great work *Chāturvarga Chintāmaṇi*. This is mostly corroborated by the inscriptions issued by the Yādava kings. Now, let us examine who these six kings bearing the same name Bhillama were.

Bhillama I : According to Hemādri the King Dhadiyappa was succeded by his son Bhillama.[3] Probably he ruled from c. 900 A. D.

Bhillama II : Half a century later we find another Bhillama who was the successor of king Vaddiga. This Bhillama married Lachchhiyavva, the daughter of Jhañjharāja of the Rāshṭrakūta family.[4] This Bhillama ruled from about 975 A. D.

Bhillama III : He was the son of Vesugi and Nayilladevī.[5] He issued two inscriptions. The first is the Kalasbadruk inscription of 1025 A. D.[6] and the second from Devalali bearing the date 1052 A.D.[7]

1. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, p. 46-48.
2. Ibid, p. 48.
3. *atha dhadiyaso mahipatistanayastasya babhuva-Bhillahmah.*
4. *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XVII, p. 117.
5. *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XVII, p. 117.
6. Ibid.
7. Copper plate no. 5 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1957-58.

His wife was Āvalladevi, the daughter of Jayasimha II of the Chālukya family. This Bhillama was a faithful feudatory of the Chālukya rulers Jayasimha II and Āhavamalla Someśwara I.

Bhillama IV : This king was the successor to Vesugi II.[1] But he did not rule for long. Another claimant to the Yādava throne was Sevunachandra II and he defeated Bhillama in a war and took him prisoner. But the Chālukya king Someśwara II helped this Bhillama and he was set free.[2] But with the help of Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI, Sevunachandra II got upper hand and no more we hear of this Bhillama. If at all this Bhillama ruled, it must be for a very short period before 1069 A. D. Obviously, he can not be the issuer of the Padma-Taṅkas.

Bhillama V : This ruler was the son of Karṇa and the grandson of Mallugi.[3] Though he began to rule as early as 1173 A. D. as a feudatory of the Kalachuris,[4] he became independent and assumed the status of an emperor only by 1187 A. D.[5] He was the most powerful ruler and hence he could lay the foundations for the greatness of the family, by declaring independence from his overlords. Thus he was the real founder of the Yādavas. He also established Devagiri as the capital.[6] Hence this Bhillama must have issued coins in his own name to commemorate his great achievement.

Bhillama VI : He was the son of king Rāmachandra and the brother of Singhana II (Wrongly called as Shankara and Sangama).[7] This Bhillama figures in the story of Devaladevī as escorting her to Devagiri for being given in marriage to his brother.

Thus, we have reviewed in short the achievements of all the six kings of the Yadava dynasty bearing the name Bhillama. As Bhillama V who ruled from 1173 to 1192 A. D. was the most powerful and the first independent Yādava ruler, it may be concluded that it was he who issued the Padma-Taṅkas and not the ignomious Bhillama VI who probably never ruled.

A. V. NARASIMHA MURTHY

1. *tato mahim palayamasa vesugih......tatopi nripa Bhillamah......*
2. *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 33.
3. *EI*, Vol. III, p. 217.
4. *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. XX no. 172.
5. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XX, no. 172.
6. *chakrepuram devagirim girisaprasadasampaditadivyasaktih.*
7. *Mahaṇubhaviya Marathi Vanmaya*, p. 134.

19

THE ALLEGED COINS OF KAKATIYA PRATAPA RUDRA DEVA

In the this *Journal*[1] Dinkar Rao published four copper coins which he ascribed to the Rāshṭrakūṭa King Karkka II. Questioning his readings of the legends on these coins Sircar corrected them as *Śrīmad Vikrama Kākatīya Pratāpa Rudradeva Vijaya Vatsara* 123, and has expressed the opinion that ' there can be no doubt that the copper coins published by Rao were issued by Kākatīya king Pratāparudra ', though he is in doubt whether they belong to Pratāparudra I or II, owing to his inability to read the date on these coins. He has also quoted with approval the opinion of I. Mahadevan who published an article on two copper coins of the same king in his possession[2] 'There can be no doubt, however', says he, ' that he (Mahadevan) has read quite correctly the name of Kākati Pratāparudradeva which baffled Rao ', Ramayya publishing[3] a copper coin of Pratāparudra of his possession, reads the legend as *Śrīmad Vikrama Kākatīya Pratāparudradeva Vijayakaṭaka* (12?) *Śaka* and explains the absence of the symbol on the coin due to his defeat at the hands of Malik Kafur. ' If Elliot's missing coins ', says he, ' had bull couchant on the obverse, it must be before Pratāparudra's first defeat, by Malik Kafur in 1309. Later, then he gave up the Hindu symbols and issued his coins on the Muslim model " with legends on both the sides.

Nisar Ahmad[4] in a short note rejects the reading *Śaka* deciphered by Ramayya and others and reads it correctly as *Añka*. Lastly, Amjad Ali[5] has published another coin from his own collection, which he obtained at Warangal. He reads the legend as *Śrī Madhuka-Kākatīya Pratāparu* [-] *deva Vi* [*ja*] *ya kaṭaka* [-] 2 *aṅka*. After examining carefully all the coins so far published, he puts forward the suggestion that the correct and complete legend on the coins is *Śrī Madhuka Kākatīya Pratāparudradeva Vijayakaṭaka* [2] *aṅka*, and comments as follows : " The epithet Śrī Madhukara for Kākatīya Pratāpa Rudradeva is meant to show him as the worshipper of Śrī, the Goddess of Fortune. Vijayakaṭaka means victorious camp and is very much similar to Vijaya Skandhāvāra found used in many ancient grants for the place of issue. But it has no sense in the present context, unless we take that it was an attempt to reproduce the term Urdu Zafar Qarim

1. Vol. XXI, pt. I, pp. 37-38.
2. *Hindu*, 28th Jan. 1959.
3. *JNSI*, XXI, pt. II, pp. 181-4.
4. Ibid, XXIX, pt. I. P. 49.
5. Ibid, XXIX, pt. II. pp. 85, 89.

or the like, which are found used on the coins of Mughals, Durrānis and some other dynasties. In any case such a copy of the Mughal pattern of the legend would have been adopted by Rudra Pratāpadeva only when he becomes a vassel of Delhi". How Pratāpa Rudra who ruled in the first quarter of the 14th century A. D. could have copied a Mughal or Durrāni pattern passes one's understanding.

With due deference to the learned Numismatists cited above, it must be pointed out that these coins do not belong to Kakātiya king Pratāparudra either I or II. The present writer has consulted carefully all the photographs of the legends on the coins published and has found that the reading '*Aṅka*' after the date is quite correct. The occurrence of this term on these coins not only disproves their Kākatīya affiliation but also points out definitely to the kings of Orissa. The *Aṅka* reckoning, it may be noted, is peculiar only to the late Eastern Gāṅga kings and the Sūryavaṁsi Gajapatis of Orissa who followed them. It is known to all the students of Andhra History that there was a Pratāparudradeva among the Gajapatis who ruled over the entire east coast from the river Ganges to Udayagiri in the Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh from A. D. 1496 to 1542 A. D. The coins must have been issued by Pratāparudra Gajapati and they must have been in circulation in the Andhra country during his reign. Vijayakaṭaka from which the coins were issued undoubtedly refers to Cuttack, the capital of Pratāparudra Gajapati, which the great Vijayanagara monarch Krishṇadevarāya reduced to ashes during the last stage of his Kalinga campaign. *Śrī Madhuka* if the reading offered by Amjad Ali is correct, it must refer to the God Madhukeśvara of the famous Mukhaliṅgaṁ, the ancient Kaliṅganagara. It may, however, be objected that Pratāparudra Gajapati could not have been a Kākatīya, and the term Kākati is seen clearly in the legend on all the coins. Though it is not possible to explain the circumstances in which Gajapati Pratāparudradeva adopted the title 'Kākatīya', it is proved beyond the shadow of doubt by his inscriptions, that he did so. For instance, the following *praśasti* occurring in his Vankāyalapāḍu and Guḍimella grant may be consulted with advantage in this connection.[1]

1. *Vīraśrī Gajapati Gauḍeśwara navakōṭi Karnā-*
2. *ṁṭa Kalubarigeśwara Kāketa Rudra Veṅkka-*
3. *ṭa rāyaśrī Pratāparudradevu mahā-*
4. *rājāṁkaru Vijayarājye.........*
5. *Samasta* 19 *sāṁka Śrībi*

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA

1. *Nellore Ins.*, I, copper plate No. 22, pp. 184-185

20

A RELIGIOUS SEALING FROM PAUNAR

[Pl. XIII]

Seals (*mudrās*) were used for a variety of purposes in ancient India. They were, for instance, employed as marks of authentication, passports, royal emblems and personal marks. Sometimes they served as mottos also.[1] Clay sealings inscribed with religious formulae were also used as devotional offerings by pious devotees or pilgrims irrespective of the religious orders to which they owed allegiance. Little clay sealings bearing the Buddhist creed (e. g. *ye dharmā hetu-prabhavāḥ* etc.) have been found in numbers from several ancient sites like Nalanda and Bhita. Likewise, clay-sealings belonging to the temples of Hindu deities like Śiva and Vishṇu have been reported from many an ancient site, e. g. Vaiśālī (Basarh)[2], Bhita[3], Sunet[4] and Rajghat[5]. The temple tablets may also have been used by pilgrims as mementoes of their visit to the temples concerned.

One such sealing was recently found at Paunar in the Wardha District of the Maharashtra State by Dr. V. B. Kolte, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University, who was kind enough to place it at my disposal for study.

The sealing is of baked clay and reddish in colour. It is oval in shape, the surface measuring $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ cms., and finished smooth. It tapers towards the back to form a rectangular projection divided into two by a groove in the centre. The front side is slightly broken away at three different places along the edge. While two of these breakings have done no damage to the contents of the inscription it bears, the same cannot be said about the third one. **(Pl. XIII. 5)**

1. Cf. the Mahurzari (9 miles north-west of Nagpur) seal-stamp with the inscription *apramada* in Gupta characters (V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. III, pp. 88-89, Pl. VI, Fit. 4) and several clay-seals with the same legend dating from 700 to 100 A. D. from Kasia in the Gorakhpur Distt. of Uttar Pradesh (*ASI*, *AR*, 1905-06, p. 84; 1906-07, pp. 63-4); the Sunet sealing with *Dharmakartavya* in Brahmi characters of about 200 A. D. (*JNSI*, XIX, pp. 71-2); the copper sealing with the legend *Satyam jayati n-anrita* (ibid, XXIV, p. 182); the Basarh sealings with the *sukti Dharmo rakshati rakshitah* (*ASIAR*, 1903-1094, R. 113).
2. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 110-111.
3. Ibid, 1911-12, pp. 49 f.
4. *JNSI*, XX, p. 67.
5. *JNSI*, XIX, 168 ff.; XX, 195 ff.; XXIII, pp. 48

The surface of the sealing is almost completely covered with a short inscription in three lines : the first and the preserved portion of the last line consist of two *aksharas* each, the second line containing the remaining three letters. Written in the late Kshatrapa-Sātavāhana characters of the second century A. D.[1], the inscription reads *Nama Purushotama*. It is probable that the last line contained one more *akshara* at the end, which in all probability might have been *ya*. The inscription was thus a dedicative one and may be rendered as 'salutation to Purushottama' (*i. e.* God Vishṇu). It is obvious that the sealing must have been offered by some devotee at a Vishṇu shrine at Paunar or taken from there as *prasāda* of the deity or employed as an authentication mark of the temple. The sealing, thus, discloses the existence of a shrine of Vishṇu at Paunar in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Numerous Vaishṇava seals with such Vaishṇavite formulae as *Jitam Bhagavatā*[2], *Hari-smaraṇa*[3] and *jayaty=ananto bhagavān*[4] etc., sometimes with some Vaishṇavite emblems, are known from several other sites. Sealings with Vaishṇavite symbols like wheel and conchshell and the inscription *namas=tasmai* (salutation to Him, i. e. Lord Vishṇu)[5] or the *dvādasākshara mantra Om Namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya*[6] are also known. However, the only published seal-stamp of a Vaishṇavite import from the Vidarbha region known to me is that found on a hill near Parsenoi about 16 miles north of Nagpur and bearing the legend *Jitaṁ Bhagavatā*. But it belongs to the Vākāṭaka-Gupta age as indicated by palaeographic considerations.[7] Ours is, thus, the earliest Vaishṇavite sealing from Vidarbha known so far.

1. Specially noteworthy in this connection are the forms of the letters *p* and *sh* both the vertical strokes of which are elongated and made equal. Exactly the same form of *p* as we meet in our inscription is noticed in the records of Ushavadata and Vasishthiputra Pulumavi (*vide* Buhler, *Indian Palaeography*, Pl. III, Col. 26 under Nos. VII and XI). The form of *sh* in our legend is exactly the same as that we come across in the inscriptions of Ushavadata (vide ibid, Pl, III, Col. 36 under Nos. VIII and IX). The looped form of *n* is found in the records of Yajna Sri-Satakarni (cf. ibid, Pl. III, Col. 25, under No. XII). The form of the letter *t* appears rather archaic. An intriguing feature of our inscription is the looped form of the medial sign for *u* in the letters *pu* and *ru*.
2. *ASI*, *AR*, 1903-04, p. 111, Nos. 33-36; Mirashi, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.
3. *JNSI*, XIX, p. 72 fn. 2.
4. *ASI*, *AR*, 1903-04, p. 111, No. 38.
5. Ibid, Nos. 39-41.
6. Ibid, 1911-12, p. 50, No. 21, Pl. XVIII. 21.
7. Mirashi, op. cit., pp. 89-90, Pl. VI, No. 5.

The discovery of the present seal-stamp indicates that Paunar was a Vaishṇava centre in the early centuries of the Christian era. Although most of the Vākāṭaka rulers, in whose dominions it came to be included, were staunch Śaivas[1], Paunar continued to be a stronghold of Vaishṇavism as indicated by the discovery there of a number of sculptured panels narrating the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*[2].

The sealing has a unique importance from some other points of view also.

As stated above, so far only one Vaishṇava seal-stamp was found in Vidrabha and that, too, belonged to the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period. Under the Vākāṭakas, Rāmagiri (present Ramtek, near Nagpur) was a stronghold of Vaishṇavism, as may be reasonably inferred from its description in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. Possibly, it was a centre of the Rāma cult even in the pre-Vākāṭaka days, but we have no definite evidence to support this surmise. The present sealing, therefore, is the earliest evidence of the spread of Vaishṇavism in Vidarbha.

Another point relates to the history of Paunar, the provenance of the sealing. Nandivardhana (modern Nandardhan, near Ramtek, Nagpur District, Maharashtra) was the capital of the Vākāṭakas till the eleventh regnal year of Pravarasena II.[3] But sometime between this date and his eighteenth regnal year the capital was shifted to Pravarapura[4], evidently named after the reigning king. K. N. Dikshit held that this new metropolis was founded by the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I. Mirashi rightly pointed out that the founder of the new capital was Pravarasena II, not Pravarasena I.[5] Both these savants have identified Pravarapura with the present Paunar. But our sealing shows that Paunar was quite an important place even before the Vākāṭakas. It may be incidentally mentioned in this connection that the recent archaeological exacavations at Paunar conducted by the Nagpur University under the direction of S. B. Deo have revealed a cultural sequence dating from cir. 1000 B. C. It

1. Only two Vakataka rulers, Rudarasena II and Prithivishena, were Vaishnavas.
2. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 272 ff.
3. Belora plates of the 11th year of Pravarasena II were issued from Nandivardhana, Vide Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vakatakas, CII*, V, pp. 18 ff.
4. Chammak plates dated in the 18th year of Pravarasena II were issued from Pravarapura. See ibid., pp. 23 ff.
5. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, II, p. 273.

would follow from this that when Pravarasena II shifted his capital to this ancient city he only renamed it after his own name. It is equally possible that the site of the ancient Pravarapura has to be searched for somewhere else.

A. M. SHASTRI

21

TWO NEW CLAY SEALINGS IN ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

[PL. XI]

The recent acquisitions of antiquities for the Museum brought to light two clay sealings which are quite new finds for the Museum. They are being described below :—

1. The Sealing of Raja Parvata.

Reg. No. 495 ; Find spot-Kausambi ; Oval—3.5 cm ×3 cm

There is an oval seal impression, measuring 2.5 cm ×1.7 cm on a clod of earth. The sealing is black and bears a wide thread mark on its reverse.

At the top of the seal impression there is the Brāhmī legend राज्ञो पर्वतस्य. On the extreme left, there is a pole topped with a lion to right. Below the legend is seen three arched hill represented by three big dots. At the extreme right end of the seal impression stands a pole topped with a spoked wheel.

(PL. XI. 11)

The coins of Parvata have been published earlier.[1] These coins preserve the symbols hill, tree in railing and a wavy line with the legend *Pavatasa*. They do not contain either of the symbols found on either ends of the legend on the above described sealing but the arched hill is common to both. Anohther point to be noted is the absence of the title *rājño* or *rājñaḥ* on the coins of this ruler while it is present in the sealing. In this sense it is a unique find.

A third point worth notice is that the legend on the sealing ends in genitive *sya* while in the coins it ends in *sa*. The coins do not have *ra*

1, Allan, *BMC,AI* pp, 150, pl. xx, also see Smith, *IMC* pp. 155 pl. xx-4.

above the *va* in the legend but the legend in the sealing preserves it. As such the legend of the sealing is purely in Saṁskṛita form whereas the coins preserve it in Prākṛita form. So far no seal or sealing of king Parvata with or without the title *Rājño* or *Rājñḥ* was noticed.

2. Baladhikarana sealing

Reg. No. 498, Circular, diam. 5.4. cm. Find spot Kanauj.

The sealing is divided into upper and lower halves by a line drawn horizontally in the middle. The upper half contains a *surāhī* like vase or kalaśa with foliage placed on a pedestal. There is a conch on either side of the vase near its base.

The lower half region contains the legend *Balādhikaraṇaṁ* in the Gupta script of about 5th Cent. A.D. The whole motif with legend is placed inside a circle.

(PL. XI. 12)

In the Karamdaṇḍā inscription[1] of G. E. 117=436 A. D. Kumārāmātya Pṛithivisheṇa has been mentioned as the *Mahābalādhikṛita* of King Kumāragupta I. Again a sealing bearing the legend, *Śrī Yuvarāja bhattārākapādīya-bal-ādhikaraṇasya* was discovered at Vaisali.[2] Above this legend, of the sealing, there is a vase or Kalaśa in the centre, a conch to the right and the letter *Śrī* to the left. *Balādhikaraṇa* and the title *Balādhikṛita* appear to be synonyms. The title of *Mahābalādhikṛita* of the Karamdaṅdā inscription and the title of *Balādhikṛita* have the same re a-tion with each other as the *Mahāśvapati* and *Aśvapati* titles found on Bhītā sealings. Just as *Aśvapati*[3] may be taken an official inferior in rank to *Mahāśvapati,* an officer of importance, the same may be the case with the titles of *Balādhikaraṇa* and *Mahābalādhikaraṇa.*

The comparison of the Kanauj and Vaisali sealings shows the following differences between them.

(1) The Kanuaj sealing bears a conch on either side of the vase while the Vaiśālī sealing shows a conch to the right and the letter *Śrī* to the left. *Śrī* of the Vaisali sealing is replaced by a conch in the Kanauj one.

1. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* p. 283.
2. *ASIAR, Excavations at Basarh,* 1903-4, p. 107, pl. XL. 5.
3. *ASIAR, Excavations at Bhita,* 1911-12, p. 53, No. 33.

(2) The Kanauj sealing contains the legend simply as *Balādhikaraṇaṁ* while the other one contains *Srī Yuvarāja—bhattāraka-pādīya-bal-ādhi-karaṇasya.*

In this way it appears that the present sealing belonged to the office of a Military Officer below the ranks of Śrī Yuvarāja bhattāraka-pādīya balādhikaraṇa of Vaiśālī sealing and Mahābalādhikṛita[1] or (Field Marshall) of Karamdaṅdā inscription. As such it comes third in rank to above two Military Officers.

The Provenance of the above sealing suggests that either it was imported to Kanauj from any other Gupta Military head-quarters or Kanauj itself bore the glory of being a military head-quarter in this age.

R. R. *TRIPATHI*

22

SEALINGS FROM SANGHOL AND SUNET

[PL. XIII]

I

Sanghol (Skt. Sanghapura) is an ancient site situated on the Chandi-garh-Ludhiana road. Numerous uninscribed cast and the die-struck coins of the Kuṇinda, Indo-Parthian, Sassanian, Kushāṇa, Gupta, Hūṇa and the Kashmir rulers, have been found here. They unmistakably show that the site enjoyed continuous occupation from c. 2nd century B.C. to c. 8th century A. D. The antiquity of the site is further pushed back by the grey ware and black-slipped pottery which is found scattered over a large area.

A number of seals and sealings have come to light from this site. Two of them, collected by me are described below :

1. Sealing of Sri Vishnudatta

Shape-oval ; Size—3.2 cm. ×3 cm.; thickness 1.25 cm. fine-grained clay, greyish red in colour.

The lower part of the sealing is broken, however, the figure and the inscription are intact. It bears a couchant lion at the top and the name of the issuer *Śrī Vishṇudattasya* below it. The animal is carved with sharp features. The symmetry and fineness of the letters is noteworthy. The

1. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 264, note.

letters are rounded and flourishes prominent. The script may be assigned to the 6th-7th century. (**Pl. XIII. 1**)

2. Sealing of Balabhadra and Damika

Shape-round, flat on both sides; Size--2.6 cm. diameter ; fine-grained clay, brick-red in colour.

This bears impressions of two different seals, one on each side as follows :—

A. A large figure of lion seated on its haunches with its upraised tail and gaping mouth ; An object perhaps conch, is placed in its front. The lower part is inscribed '*Balabhadrasya*'. (**Pl. XIII. 2**)

B. Within a circle of dots, some device which is oblitrated ; below it *Dāmīkasya*. (**Pl. XIII. 3**)

The two seals though were simulatneously impressed; belong to two slightly different periods. The second legend belongs to the Mathura school variety. The head-marks here being constituted by a horizontal line. The script on the first seal however, is akin to the Kauśāmbī variety where angularity is not so marked. *Da* on the first sealing shows a curve in its lower part is clearly different from the same letter on the second sealing, which is markedly angular.

It is significant to note that the names on these sealings do not bear any royal title. However, since all these persons got their sealings prepared, we are led to believe that they were of considerable importance in that locality. It is not possible to ascertain their status or position, it may be conjectured that they were either government officials or business magnates.

The sealing does not evince any sign on either side to indicate that it was attached to any document. It cannot be even a temple sealing ; so, it appears that it was used by messengers for authentication. Vālmiki's R*amāyaṇa* tells that Hanumāna could prove his *bonafide* as a messenger of Rāma by producing the signet ring inscribed with the name of Rāma :

रामनामांकितं पश्येदं देव्यङ्गुलीयकम् ।

II

A religious Sealing from Sunet

Angular-topped circular; well baked, red clay sealing ; Size--3.4 cm. × 3.5 cm.

The sealing is divided into two parts : (1) an elevated triangle 2.5 cm. ×2.6 ×2.6 cm.) at the top in the middle of which is embossed a design of Śrīvatsa in clear relief. Below in the circular portion, marked off by a horizontal line is the legend and a tiny encircled figure probably of a lotus over it. The legend is arranged in three lines :—

श्री जितं भगवता स्व (स्वा) मि नारायण (णे) न । (Pl. XIII. 4)

The marked palaeographical peculiarities are—(a) developed top lines (b) angular forms of *va*, *ma*, *na*, (c) looped form of *ya*. The characters are of Mathura school of the later Gupta period.

That this is a temple token clay sealing admits of no doubt. It has been pointed out that such token sealings and stamped mettalic pieces were given to the visitor devotees by the temple authorities by way of mementoes to their pilgrimage and visit. The peculiarity, however, is its triangle top which is not to be found in any of the clay sealings discovered so far. It seems that either in Sunet or in its vicinity, there was a temple or a place sacred to Nārāyaṇa. It may be recalled here that the deity Nārāyaṇa was the foremost god of the pantheon of the Kāshirāgma school of Pañcharātrikas.

The Tusam rock inscription of the Gupta period refers to the Sattvata school of the Vaishnavas. The sealing thus provides further proof of the prevalence of the Vaishnavism both of the Pañcharātrika as well as of the Sattvata forms in this region.

G. B. SHARMA

23

SOME INTERESTING COINS IN BARODA MUSEUM

[PL. IX-X.]

The Museum and Picture Gallery Baroda, has a large and representative collection of Coins ranging from Punch-marked, Ancient Greek, Roman etc. to the later coins of Indian Native States and several foreign countries.[1] A few new, interesting and rare coins from this collection are described below :

1. A Posthumous Coin of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq I :

History says that Ghiyasuddin Tughluq I ruled from 720 to 725 A.H. (1320 to 1324 A. D.). The Baroda Museum possesses a billon coin of

1. For details of this collection, reference may be made to "Coin collection of the Baroda Museum", *JNSI*, XXIII.

this Sultan dated Hijari 726. The figure 7 and 6 are quite clear while the central figure is not seen. However, the central figure cannot be 1 or 0, as the years 706 and 716 fall in the reigns of earlier Sultans. This should therefore be taken as a posthumous coin and therefore an interesting type. The coin bears the usual legends in Persian on both the sides, the reverse legend being sufficiently clear to read the name as *Tughluq Shah.* (**PL. IX. 1**)

2. An unknown mint of Kambakhsh :

A silver coin of Kambakhsh in the coin cabinet of the Baroda Museum on the obverse bears the legend :

کام بخش

شاه برخور شید و ماه

سکه

دردکن زد

These are the portions of the well known couplet found on his coin of Bijapur Mint. On the reverse it reads "*Manus mimnat Jalus Saneh Ahad Zerb* followed by the mint name of which only two letters are visible. The two letters of the mint-name does not seem part of the mint name Bijapur. Coins of Kambakhsh of any other mint are not known, therefore this coin is of special interest.[2] (**PL. IX. 2**)

3. A Silver coin of Muhammad Shah of Islamabad mint :

Shayistakhan had renamed Chittagong as Islamabad in 1076 after the conquest of Arakan; but the same general had given this name to the Maratha fortress of Chakna also.[3] It is therefore a matter of conjecture whether the Mughal coins bearing the name Islamabad were issued at Chittagong or Chakna. Wherever the coins might have been issued they are extremely rare. For that reason the coin is included here.

The coin bears the legend *Muhammad Shah Badshah Ghazi Sikke Mubarak* with the Hijri year 1143 on the obsverse and the *Jalus Sane* 13. On the reverse coin of this emperor from this mint bearing this year is not known so for. (**PL. IX. 3**)

4. Coin of Muhammad Shah of Zain-ul-Bilad mint :

Zain-ul-Bilad is the epithet of Ahmedabad. It is found mentioned only on the coins of Muhammad Shah bearing the date 5th and 6th year

1. *PMC*, II, Coin 1994.
2. (Silver coins of Kambakhsh are known, not only of Bijapur, but also of Ahsanabad, Toragal, Haiderabad, Gulbarga, Gokulgarh and Nasratabad. But are extremely rare. The present coin in all probablity relates to Toragal. *P.L.G.*)
.3 *IMC*, III, p. 1

of his reign.[1] As such the coins are rare. Here is a coin of the Regnal year 6. The obverse shows the same legend as on the above coin.

(PL. IX. 4)

5. A Silver coin of Shah Alam II of Auranganagar mint :

Aurangnagar is also a rare Mughal mint. Farrukhsiyar, Alagmgir II and Shah Alam II had issued some silver coins from this mint. But they are not described in the catalogues of the Indian Museum, and the Punjab Museum.

Here is one issued in the name of Shah Alam II. The obverse contains portions of his usual legend, only the words "*Fazal*", "*Hami*", "*deen*", "*Sikke*", "*Bar*" and "*Haft*" are partly seen. The reverse contains the mint name almost complete. (PL. X. 1)

6. Copper coin with the figure of Hanumāna :

This copper coin shows on one side the flying figure of Hanumana holding up the mountain over the left hand. The long tail helps us in his indentification. One or two stray letters are seen below the figure of Hanuman. The reverse shows a jumble of letters in Gujarātī and Devnāgarī.

A coin with the figure of Hanumāna is described as an unassigned coin in the section of " Miscellaneous coins of South India " in John Allan's catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, but our coin is evidently not South Indian. Moreover, it radically differs in size and weight from that coin. Coins of Dhar and Ratlam show the figure of Hanumāna but these coins are quite of different fabric and look and are comparatively modern. Our coin might relate to some former Native State of Western or Central India of the early 19th Century ; but it cannot be identified.

(PL. X. 2)

7. Copper coin of Chhota Udaipur :

A copper coin in the Baroda Museum bears the word " Udaipur "—written in Devnāgarī with the letter '*De*' written in Gujarati style. The other side shows two thick parallel lines in centre and unreadable legend in Devanāgarī above and part of श्री below the lines. The coin is quite different in its fabric and style from the coins of Udaipur, the Capital of Mewar. So, it may not be attributed to it. But as P. L. Gupta has suggested to me, it might belong to Chhota Udaipur, a small state in Gujarat. A few coins of this state of the late nineteenth century are well known.[2] (PL. X. 3)

B. L. MANKAD

1. *NS*, XV.
2. *IMC*, IV, pp. 176-77.

24

A NEW COIN TYPE OF AHMAD SHAH BAHMANI

[**PL. X**]

This circular copper coin which measures .6″ and weighs 60 grs. was purchased by me at Warangal. The legend in Arabic reads :

Obverse	**Reverse**
المنصور	ابوالمغازی
بنصرالله	احمد شاه السلطان
نالنالظله	(٨) ٢٧
(ولي الناس)	
Al Mansur	Abul Mughazi
bi-Nasarillahe	Ahmad Shah As-Sultan
nalanna lana [Zillahu]	
[Vali-un-nās]	(8)27 (**Pl. X. 4**)

The legend of this coin, on obverse, differs from the usual type of coins having *Al Mannān*. The phrase *nalanna lana* [*zillahhu*] means, " may we obtain His shadow ". Probably this new inscription was to assert the faith of the common man that the king is the shadow of God.

The last truncated line is here conjecturally restored as *Vailiunnās*, which means, " Friend or patron of the people ".

M. AMJAD ALI

25

RARE SILVER COIN OF MAHARANA KUMBHA

A number of coins-gold, silver and copper of the Guhilot ruler of Mewar are known.

Among them a number of coins of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā (V. S. 1490-1525) have been traced out ; but all of them are in copper.[1] None of his silver and gold coins had come to light so far though mention about them is found in the *Farishta*.[2] Luckily, I have recently come across a silver-coin, which is in the personal Pūjā-collection of Shri Kanhaiyālal Sonī of Udaipur. It is similar to his copper coins. It may be described as follows :—

1. *JNSI*, XXV, Pt. I, pp. 65-69 with three plates.
2. Briggs, *Farishta*, IV, pp. 221-22.

Size—Square, 2.2×2.2 Cms. (0.9"×0.9"); *Weight*—16.200 gms. (250.1766 grains.)

Obv. : Within a double-line border a Lance or Spear-head on the top ; below श्री कुंभल मेरो महाराणा श्री कुंभकर्णस्य in Nāgarī in four lines.

Rev. : Within a double line border. श्री in centre in square of two lines around श्री एकलिंगस्य प्रसादात सं १५१२ in Nāgarī.

B. M. JAWALIA

26

THE COIN TERM 'KORI'

'Korī' is a silver coin which was in circulation in Kutch and Nawanagar States before 1947 when they were native states under British paramountacy. It would be interesting to record here the story about the origin of the word 'korī', which I came across, while looking into the accounts of Nawanagar.[1] It is as follows :—

"Jām Sataji (1560-1608 A. D.) stamped one of his own coins and placing it in a bag with the King's coin, sent it to Muzaffar Shah III (the Gujarat Sultan) with the message—'Rajputs give their daughters in marriage to you. I give my daughter, coin, in marriage to your Imperial coin'. The Moslem ruler was highly elated with this vein of flattery and accorded the Jām the permission of stamping his own coins. This coin was originally called '*Kunwārī*' (Princess); later it lost its distinguishing name and came to be known as 'Korī.'

D. M. PHATAK

27

COUNTER-STRUCK VITHOBA COIN OF AURANGZEB

[PL. VIII]

An interesting article of C. R. Singhal, entitled *Hindu Influence On The Coins of Aurangzeb* is published in this *Journal.*[2] There Singhal

1. Markand N. Mehta and Manu N. Mehta, '*The Annals of the Native States of India*', 1896, p. 560.
2. *JNSI*, XXV, p.

has identified a Mark as Vithoba, the much respected diety of Pandharpur near Bijapur, on the coins of Bijapur mint. Vithoba is considered to be a reincarnation of Vishṇu. According to him only three specimens of such coins are known, which he described in that article. One side of a coin is also illustrated.

I have two coins in my own collection and one I have seen with Shri Shantilal Pardeshi of same type and having the same legend. The coins of my collection have the year 1110 and 1111 Hijri with regnal years 42 and 44 respectively. Pardeshi's coin is dated 1108 A. H. and 41 R. Y. One of my coin bearing date 1111/44 is interesting ; it has been counter-struck at three different places. The complete legend together with those counter-struck and other marks is as under :

Obv.	**Rev.**
۱۱۱۱	C
اورنگ عالم زیب گیر	مانوس
شاه	E
A زدچوبدر منیر	میمنت
سکه	جلوس دارالظفر
B زدجهان	D ۴۴
	ضرب بیجاپور

(Pl. VIII. 13)

At 'A' on the obverse in the middle nearing to left-end is a counter struck Sun mark i. e. round mark with 8 rays coming out of it. On the right in the lower corner at the place marked 'B' is another counter struck mark which I interpret as a four petal Lotus mark. On the top of the reverse at the place marked 'C' there is another counter struck mark which seems to be like sun with rays coming out but this mark is slightly different than the other mark that is on the obverse, possibly as it was not struck properly. It seems that it was struck at an angle so the mark has come out clearly in parts. Singhal has not commented any thing about another mark casted in the coin on the reverse which is very clear in the photograph published in the Journal. This I interpret as a flower mark. This is at the place marked 'E' and is casted along with the coin. Vithoba mark 'D' is just like as shown in the illustration along with the article of Shri Singhal. Regarding the marks my comment is as follows.

The Sun mark on the obverse and reverse is definitely a Hindu mark and I am inclined to interpret it as the mark of Holkars who had sun on their coins. The sun on the Holkar coins was drawn as a round face

with marks of eyes, eye-brows, nose and mouth on it. It has also a Tiki mark. It has rays of light around it. The counter-struck mark on the coin under discussion resembles it very much and except for the figure drawn in the circle, it is almost the same. It should also be recognised that it is not possible to get all these details in such a small circle. Therefore I interpret it as the mark of Holkars. I think the coin was restruck by Holkars much later than the period of Aurangzeb.[1]

Singhal believes that some devotee of God Vithoba who might have been employed in Bijapur mint in the Hijri 1111 to 1113 corresponding 44 to 46 year of reign of Aurangzeb must have found an opportunity to engrave this tiny mark of Vithoba on the dies of these coins. The two coins described by Shri Singhal bear the Hijri date of 1111 corresponding to 44 year of reign and Hijri date 1113 corresponding to 46 year of the reign of Aurangzeb .In the postscript to his article he describes another coin which bears 1108 Hijri corresponding to 41st year of Aurangzeb's reign. Thus the official must be working at Bijapur from 1108 to 1114 Hijri.[2]

It will be interesting to find out about Bijapur and Bijapur mint. No coin of any emperor before Aurangzeb has been known to have been issued from this mint. According to Whitehead only Kambaksh and Jahandar Shah issued coins from this mint. Whitehead describes five silver coins of Aurangzeb from this mint in the *P.M.C.* Out of these coins one has been illustrated. This coin does not bear the mark of Vithoba. Similarly Whitehead does not illustrate this mark while illustrating the marks on Mughal coins (page 441). Therefore it will be right to suppose that Vithoba mark is not on all those coins seen by Whitehead.

I was toying with this idea that possibly this is the Bijapur mint mark. But this contention is not correct. Coin No. 1638 in that book is a coin from Bijapur mint. It bears the Hijri date of 1113 and 46 as the year of reign of Aurangzeb. Therefore it is reasonable to suppose that in the Hijri 1113 the mark was discovered and removed from the die and possibly the officer was punished. Another coin No. 1637 belongs to Bijapur

1. I wrote to Maharaj Dr. Raghubirsinghji of Sitamau asking for his commments and he wrote back saying "The Holkars might have counter-struck the Aurangzeb coin during their early years in Malwa, say by about the middle of the Seventeenth Century, to mark their having established their domination over this part of the Mughal Empire ".
2. It would be of interest to know if there are any other coins of this type in any private and public collection as this would enable us to know as to when this mark came on the coins and when it was removed.

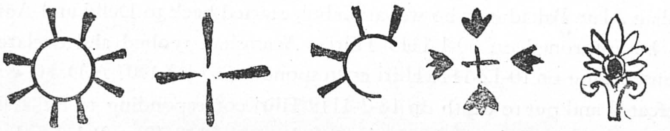
mint and has 31 as the reigning period of Aurangzeb which has no Vithoba mark. It will be interesting to know the story of this insertion and removal of the Vithoba mark but nothing is as yet known.

The four petal Lotus mark is also a Hindu mark. The significance of the four petal Lotus is Great in Hindu Yoga. It represents *Gudā* (rectum)—*Chakra*, the first *Chakra* in Yoga having Ganesha as the ruling God. It has four petal lotus. How and why it is struck on this coin cannot be explained by me but it is essentially a Hindu mark.

The flower mark 'E' has been noted on Moghul coins by R. B. Whitehead and he has illustrated it as mark 27 in the *P.M.C.* What these marks represent has not been explained by him and he has not noted on which coin, which mark is. This mark is on the coin under discussion at the place marked 'E'.

The find spot of my coin is Indore, the Capital of the Holkars. The coin under reference is not only unique because of the Vithoba mark but also because it has been counterstruck by Holkars and some other Hindu king.

The coins-marks are enlarged here



R. K. SETHI

[The symbol, which had been identified as Vithoba has been correctly reproduced by Shri Sethi as mark D. It is clearly a flower pattern and no one would identify the figure of Vithoba. It is just a mint-mark, placed on the coins by the mint-master as his own distinguishing marks. No importance should be attached to it. Similarly the counter-struck marks do not have any political significance. Such marks are often seen on Mughal coins and are the test-marks of the Sarrafs. *P.L.G.*]

28

A UNIQUE COIN OF AURANGZEB MINTED AFTER HIS DEATH

[PL. VIII]

I recently purchased a silver coin of Aurangzeb which bears the Hijri year 1119 and regnal year 51. The coin was minted at *Daru-al-khilafat* Shahjahanabad (Delhi).

Aurangzeb ascended the throne on 1-11-1068 A. H. (21-7-1658 A. D.) and died on 28-11-1118 A. H. (28-2-1707 A.D.).[1] So, in the year 1119 A. H., Aurangzeb was not alive when this coin was issued. On 2-11-1118 the 51st year of the reign of Aurangzeb started. Hence if Aurangzeb would have lived even a day after the end of year 1118 Hijri, this coin could be said to have been minted in his reign. So, this is a posthumouss issue.

It will therefore be interesting to look out for the circumstances in which the coin was minted. Two reasons may be postulated for the issue of the coin at Delhi after his death.

(1) Aurangzeb died in the South near Daultabad. The news of his death did not reach Delhi before this coin was minted.

(2) That the succession was not decided and therfore coins continued to be minted in the name of Aurangzeb.

It is, however, not possible to think that the news of Aurangzeb's death did not reach Delhi even within a month, particularly when immediately after his death, his son Azamshah revolted. And Prince Muazzam (Shah Alam Bahadur) who was at Kabul, started back to Delhi and Agra to be enthroned on 30-1-1119 Hijri. Azamshah rvolted and declared himself king on 10-12-1118 Hijri corresponding to 4-3-1707 A.D. He was defeated and put to death on 18-3-1119 Hijri corresponding to 8-6-1707 A.D.[2] Similarly in the beginning of the year 1119 Kam Baksh rebelled, was defeated and put to death in the end of 1119 Hijri, or may be in the beginning of 1120 Hijri, as his coins of the year 1120 Hijri, are known.

Shah Alam Bahadur came to the throne on 30-1-1119 Hijri corresponding to 22-4-1707 A.D.

The coins after the date of accession are in the name of Shah Alam Bahadur. As a matter of fact coins of 1191 giving the regnal year as 1 of *Daru-al-khilafat* Shahjahanabad (Delhi) of Shah Alam Bahadur is known and published.

Therefore this coin must have been minted at Delhi between 1-1-1119 Hijri (24-3-1707 A.D.) and 30-1-1119 Hijri (22-4-1707 A.D.) The reasons seem to be like this :

1. According to Vincent Smith, Aurangzeb died on 21-2-1707.
2. Vincent Smith gives the date as 10-6-1707. The Hijri date is the same. There is difference in calculation of Smith and Whitehead.

Azamshah revolted as soon as he got the news of the death of Aurunzeb and declared himself as the king. His coins of Surat, Ahmednagar, Burhanpur, Ujjain, Ahmedabad, Khujistan-bunyad (Aurangabad) and Asir are known. These places are all in the South or Central India. He proceeded towards Agra and Delhi and met the army of Shah Alam Bahadur and was defeated and killed in the third month of 1119. The armies met at Jajau.

Kam Baksha remained in the South. His coins of Bimapur, Hyderabad, Ahsanabad, Toragal, Gulbarga, Gokul Garh, Nasratabad and Gokak are known. It took almost a year before he could be defeated and killed.

As I have already stated above Shah Alam Bahadur ascended to the throne on 30-1-1119 Hijri. Before this, the succession to the throne was doubtful and hence it is that the Officer-in-Charge at the Delhi-mint continued to mint the coins in the name of Auranzgeb. With these comments I describe the coin[1] as under :

Shape : Round.
Metal : Silver.
Weight : 1 tola.
Width : 0.8"

Obv.

دارالخلافةجهان
شاه
ضرب مانوس
جلوس میمنت
سنه ٥١

Rev.

عالمگیر
اورنگزیب ١١١٩
شاه
زدچوبدر منیر
درجهان سکه

(Pl. VIII. 14)

It is really unusual for a coin of a moghul Emperor to be minted at the capital after his death.[2]

R. K. Sethi

1. A similar coin is described in *BMC*, Coin, No. 845.
2. (This is not a new phenomenon in Mughal Numismatics. Posthumous coins of Akbar in gold and copper are known. Some Farrukhsiyar coins are also posthumous. *P.L.G.*)

29

GOLD COIN OF AHMAD SHAH BAHADUR

[Pl. VIII.]

While cataloguing later Mughal coin-collection of the Central Museum, Nagpur, I noticed a rare coin of Ahmad Shāh Bahādur (A.H. 1161—1167 A.D. 1748—1754) the emperor of the Mughal dynasty. I call it rare because the catalogues of coins of the Mughal Emperors published by various museums do not bear this coin. Only the catalogue of British Museum has it at No. 1044. The obverse of the coin of the British Museum catalogue, is clear while the reverse is blank. Anyway the coin is unique. So it has to be dealt with in detail.

Details about this coin are being published here with the kind permission of Dr. M.G. Dikshit, Director of Archives and Archaeology, Bombay, and Shri P.M. Muley, Curator, Central Museum, Nagpur, to whom I am deeply indebted.

The provenance of the coin is not known.

The gold fanam I came across in the Central Museum, Nagpur, is exactly of the same size and type as that catalogued at No. 1044 by the British Museum. It, however, bears the legend on the reverse which though not clear, is totally absent in the catalogue of the British Museum.

The description of the coin is as follows :

Metal	:	Gold.	Weight	:	0.18 gms.
Shape	:	Roundish.	Size	:	0.6 Cms.

The legend on both sides obverse as well as reverse is enclosed by a string of beads round the edge.

The letters of the obverse legend are beautifully inscribed and are quite clear, so that there is no uncertainty in reading. The legend is as follows :

احمد شاه

The legend on the reverse on the other hand, is quite indistinct which creates complication in reading. As some of the letters appear partially and cause difficulty in deciphering the name of the mint-town, it cannot be determined with certainty.

The only noteworthy feature of the coin is the queer way in which the mint-name has been inscribed. From the legend *Koharnagar*

appears to be the name of the mint. But this place does not find any mention in either the Archaeoloigcal Survey reports of Cunningham or the Imperial Gazetteers. So I read the mint-town as *Akbarnagar*, which in all probability, is justified by the following interpretation :

The first vertical line serves three purposes. First of all it is الف (*Alif*). Secondly, it is also ک (*Kāf*) because of the stroke of ء (*Hamza*) above. And thirdly, it also serves the purpose of dotting ب (*Be*) because it is extended further down. Hence it looks like ' اُر ' i.e. *Akbar* and نگر (*nagar*) is pretty clear.

In between اُر (*Akbar*) and نگر (*nagar*) appear the numerals ٦٦ (66), perhaps to provide the date i.e. 1166 H. And below it the word محمد (*Muhammad*) is also visible. In the field there is ه (*He*) facing *nagar* like نکره . The full legend is probably بن محمد شاه اُرنکر ١٠٣٣

Thus I tentatively read the obverse and reverse as follows :

Obverse	**Reverse**
احمد شاه	اُر محمد نکره ٦٦

(**Pl. VIII. 11—12**)

The photograph of the reverse of the coin has been enlarged ten times of the original and reproduced here to facilitate the reading, so that expert numismatists may decipher the real name of the mint-town and the correct legend.

M. K. HUSSAIN

30

EARLIEST KNOWN INTERESTING COINS OF JAIPUR STATE

[PL. XI]

I have recently acquired three coins which I describe as below.

1. Silver; Round; Diameter, 0.6; Weight, 5 gramms.

Obverse : आठ आना **Reverse :**

هشته انه (١٨١١ ضرب ٢٣

(**Pl. XI. 1**)

2. Silver; Round; Diameter, 0.5; Weight, 3 gramms.

Obverse : चार आना **Reverse :**

انه چار (١ ضر[ب] ٢٣

(**Pl. XI. 2**)

3. Silver; Round; Diameter, 0.35" Weight, 2 gramms.

Obverse : दो आ [ना] **Reverse :**

=) ب ۲۴

(**Pl. XI. 3**)

On the top of reverse is a line, which could not be deciphered.

This mark found on these coins is known as *Jhār* or the tree mark and the coins bearing this mark are known as *Jhār-shahi*. The *Jhar* marks are found on the coins of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Ajmer, Karoli, Kishangarh, Dewas and Jhalawar. But the type of tree-mark that is on the 8 anna piece resembles the mark of Jaipur and Kishangarh. No coin of Kishangarh is known prior to the period of Shah Alam II. Their first coin was minted in the year 1783 A.D. This rules out the possibility of Kishangarh completely. Therefore the coin belongs to Jaipur.

Two coins of Mohammed Shah belonging to the Jaipur-mint has been described by Whitehead in the *Catalogue of Coins in Punjab Museum Lahore*, Vol. II, one belongs to the 25th regnal year and the other belongs to the 26th year. Both these coins do not have the Jhar or tree-mark. According to Whitehead, the Mint-mark with six sprays, as illustrated as mark 89 in his book above mentioned, came in the latter issues of Shah Alam II.

It will also be interesting to note that according to Whitehead, Jaipur-mint came into being during reign of Mohammed Shah. As a matter of fact Mohammed Shah gave the title of 'Sawai' to Maharaja Jaisingh of Jaipur. Similarly C.R. Singhal in his book *Mint towns of Mughal Emperors of India* conveys that the Jaipur-mint is known for the first time during the reign of Mohammed Shah. So also according to Singhal's book *Supplementary Catalogue of the Mughal Coins in State Museum Lucknow* "Jaipur, the capital of Rajasthan State was founded in the reign of Mohammed Shah and some coins were issued by him and by his successors from this mint".

The year on the 8 anna-piece most probably is the 1800 Vikrama Samvat. It cannot be Hijri or Christian era. Hijri 1800 is yet to come and no British coin or coin of a European influence from Northern India is known of 1800 A.D.

On the reverse of all the three coins is the figure '24' which is the regnal year of the king who was ruling at that time. The difference between Christian and Vikram year is 57-58 years. Vikram Samvat started in 58 B.C. but not in January, therefore for calcualtion purpose

taking the beginning or the end of Christian year, 57 or 58 will have to be deducted from the Vikram year to get the Christian year. So 1800 minus 57-58 will come to 1742-43 A.D.

Mohammed Shah (1131-61 A.H.), one of the later Mughal Emperors, ascended the throne on 15-11-1131 Hijri corresponding to 18-11-1719 A.D., to which if 24 (the regnal year) is added it will come to 1743 A.D. Therefore the Vikram Samvat 1800 partly coincided with the 24th regnal year of Mohammed Shah. So it may be said that this coin belongs to the reign of Mohammed Shah and was struck in the name of Mohammed Shah inspite of the fact that his name is not on the coin. The presence of 24 on the coins conculsively proves it to be so.

I would also like to comment that along with Urdu, Devanagri script (Hindi) has been used on these coins and they bear the legend आठ आना, चार आना and दो आ (ना) in this script. These are also indicated as they are written in Indian account books (*Bahis*) or in the Indian system of accounting as ॥), ।). This system of indication has not been known on any other coin.

Therefore these coins are very unique because of the following reasons:

(1) They are earliest known coins of Jaipur-mint.

(2) They bear Vikram-Samvat date, instead of the Hijri date.

(3) The tree-mark or Jhar came into being first time on these coins. Variation from 6 to 4 sprays has not been known except on these coins.

(4) They bear the legend in Hindi (Devanagri Script) as well as in Urdu on the 8 anna 4 anna and on the 2 anna pieces. This is not known on any other coin, prior to these.

(5) Symbols of Indian accountancy system are used to indicate denomination of 8 annas, 4 annas and 2 annas, as ॥), ।) and =).

To my knowledge these coins have been never published and they are unique and interesting because of the reasons given above.

R. K. SETHI

[Little attention has been paid to the Native State coins; so, Sethi should deserve our congratulations that he has taken an initiative in this direction by publishing these coins. But at the same time, it may also be pointed out that these coins do not belong to Jaipur mint. The

top line on the reverse, which he could not read is *Kishanagarh*. A large part of the legend is clear on the four-anna piece. Secondly, there is no date on the obverse, which Shri Sethi has taken to be 1800 is only 8, the dots form part of the persian legend. The denomination of the coin is written in words and numerals both in Nagari and Persian. Thirdly, denomination *ānnā*, though known in the Mughal period was used on coins at a very late date with the advent of the British. Therefore, these coins appear to have been issued only in the late ninteenth century A.D. *P.L.G.*]

31

AZAD HIND TOKEN

[PL. X]

In the follow of the note published by V. Prakash[1] on Aazd Hind Token, I describe here three pieces of the same nature from my collection :

1. Shape : Round. Size 2.15 cm. Thickness 1.5 mm. Weight 3.9 gm. Cupro-nickel.

Obv. : Outline map of India within a beaded circle. Words *Azad Hind* (Free India) in Devanagari script superimposed across the map at the top. '15 August 1947' also in Devanagari, below the map along the beaded circle. No stars.

Rev. : National flag of India flying to right within a beaded circle. Words *Jaya Hind* (Victory to India) in Devanagari script, above, and '15 August 1947' below the flag within the circle. No stars.

(PL. XI. 1)

2. Shape : Round. Size 2.35 cm. Thickness 1.9 mm. Weight 5 gms. Bronze.

Obv. : Bust of Mahatma Gandhi to the left. Words *Mahātmājī* on the top of the bust along the border line. Below the bust the legend '*Rashtra Pita*' also in Devanagari script. No starts.

1. *JNSI*, XXIX, pp. 91-92.

Rev. : Outline map of India within a beaded circle. Other details as on obverse of No. 1 above. There are four stars on four sides. There is a hole punched above the head of the bust and thus the letter *tmā* has been cut. (**PL. XI. 2**)

3. Shape : Round. Size 1.9 cm. Thickness 1.5 mm. Weight 2.9 gm. Bronze. (**PL. XI 3**)

Obverse : Outline map of India within a beaded circle. Word '*Azad*' in Devanagari script superimposed across the map *in the middle*. 15.8.1947 in Devanagari below the map along the beaded circle.

Reverse : National flag of India flying to right within a beaded circle. Words in Devanagari '*Jaya Hind*' (Victory to India) above, and '15.8.1947' below the flag within the circle. Here the National flag is in tricolour. Saffron at the top. White in the middle and Dark green at the bottom. Two small stars in the middle , each on two sides of the flag within the beaded circle. A hole is punched on the top of the map of India.

All these India pieces are beautiful and are machine struck. I am doubtful whether the word '*Token*' is appropriate in respect of these pieces, because token is a name given to coins, usually in circulation at a nominal value above their metal contents, struck by traders or official bodies at a time when the regular coinage of the state was insufficient to meet current needs, while a commemorative medal is a piece struck to commemorate a particular event or occasion. None of the above pieces bears face value and that they all clearly show that they were minted with the specific intention to commemorate the event viz. '*Azad Hind*' on 15 August, 1947.' I will therefore prefer myself to call them Commemorative Medals and not Tokens.

D. M. PHATAK

32

AN INDEPENDENCE DAY COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL

[PL. III]

The name 'Azad Hind Token' given by Dr. Vidya Prakash[1] to the medals struck at the time of the Independence day of India is rightly.

1. *JNSI*, XXIV, pt. II, pp. 91 f.

Commented upon by D. M. Phatak however reaching at no other conclusion as he also publishes his coim under the heading Azad Hind Token. I feel, the Azad Hind Token is a confusing misnomer which stresses our mind to think that the token is somehow related with the Azad Hind Force of Subhash Chandra Bose. However, the new medals of the same character show that the word Azad Hind is not used in each and every such type of Medal. The peices are related with celebrations of the Independence day of India, i.e. 15th August, 1947. Why not to call them as "The Independence Day Commemorative Medals" (स्वतन्त्रता दिवस स्मारक पदक)

The following is the description of a new type of Independence Day commemorative Medal[3] :

Metal, AE; shape, round; size. 2.6 cms. weight, 11.008 gms.

Obv. : The National Flag of India flying to r.

Rev. : The clockwise legend *jaya hinda* in Devanāgarī, above; from left to right in middle *August* 15 and in the next line 1947; anticlockwise *jayahinda* in Persian script at botom.

Remark : Coin shows a hole at the top.

(PL. III. 1)

DEENABANDHU PANDEY

33

A NUMISMATIC STUDY OF THE SALE AND PURCHASE OF INDO-BRITISH COINS IN DELHI BULLION MARKET IN THE YEAR 1967

The present study based on the rise and fall of the Indo-British silver coins in the Bullion Market, Delhi is a novel study furnishing many interesting numismatic informations. I have collected the data for the year 1967, January to November, from *The Hindustan Times*, a daily newspaper published from Delhi.

The Bullion Market sells and purchases the old and new silver coins; 1939, being the dividing year for the old and new coins. The total

2. *Supra*, pp. 237.
3. I am thankful to my friend Shri Durga Prasad Singh, M.Sc. (Ag.), Research Scholar, College of Agriculture, B.H.U., who aquired the medal on my request from a shop at the Dashahvamedha Ghat, Varanasi, costing Rs. 0.75 only.

number of old coins arrived for sale in the whole of the year was much more than two lacs and seven thousand. Apart from this, 'good arrivals' were reported eleven times and 'poor and negligible arrivals' six times. In the light of this information we may foresee the fate of the numismatic studies of Indo-British coinage in the coming future in spite of the materials collected in the museums and private coin collections. The old coins are treated in the Bullion Market having more importance as compared to the new coins, because of the more silver content but the scarcity as compared to the new coins which are in abundance also seems one of the main causes.

The highest import of old coins to the Bullion Market is reported in the month of March and then in January, in the other months market received lesser arrivals except the months of October and July when it was nil.

Delhi market gained the maximum number of coins from Punjab; Haryana was also one of the suppliers. The less number of coins were gained perhaps from other places also, but not recorded. It seems that Tibet and Nepal are also the source places as the strict vigilance at the borders affected the prices to go up. The report regarding the new coins is not available, but we may presume that they were also found from the places referred as the arrivals of coins many times affected the prices of both the coins. From the numismatic point of view it may be advised to the coin collectors interested in the Indo-British coinage to search for required pieces in the places recorded. There is every possibility to get the required specimen and the specimens of some more valuable numismatic interests also. It is better if the dealers are contacted in those months in which activities regarding the transactions of the silver coins is noted greater.

The fluctuation in the vaules of old coins is seen often. The new coins may be said to respond to the increase and decrease in the values of the old ones, but not at all the times. The new coins give the responses only at the times when there is a considerable fluctuation in the values of old coins. It is generally regarded that the silver coins are valued for their silver content. On the basis of the date collected at present it may be proposed that it is not always the case as there are many other reasons which affect the values of the coins. The prices are affected often due to the brisk demands from the traders of different places, ornament manufacturers and the stock positions. The arrivals of coins and lack of offer-

ings and buying interests were always the reasons to lower the prices. All these informations may be helpful to the persons of numismatic interests.

The highest fluctuation in the values of old coins was recorded on account of the acute shortage to hold the price up by Rs. 38 and then by Rs. 35 on account of demand. At the same time, the new coins spurted by Rs. 25 and then by Rs. 24. This highest rise of price uncoupled with any other reason clearly shows that the silver coins are not valued only for the silver content. The highest setback to the coin prices was of Rs. 22 on account of the stockists offerings and then of Rs. 15 on account of the lack of support for the old coins. The new coins were also affected by the same reasons and the setback was of Rs. 15 and then of Rs. 12. The setback reported in the prices also proves that the coins are possessing the values more than the silver as the fluctuation in the prices is not primarily and solely governed by the silver prices.

The coins from Delhi Bullion Market are sold mainly to Mathura, Agra, Moradabad and some times to Bombay and some other places.

It will be very interesting to collect the data regarding the guinea and also about the money market. Such data should be collected about all the main markets of India and the results should be studied coherently. I am sure that the subject will receive the attention of numismatists and the effort will bring forth many novel informations to promote the numismatic studies.

DEENBANDHU PANDEY

TECHNICAL SECTION

EARLY INDIAN SILVER COINAGE

— A METALLURGICAL VIEW

(Pls. XI, XIV-XVI)

H. C. Bhardwaj and *S. Mishra*

Modern achievement of man can not be fully appreciated unless one knows and understands the progress of early periods. The study of ancient coinage should be of interest to the numismatists, historians of sciences and technology, archaeologists and metallurgists. Let it be admitted that very little has been done to study the Early Indian Coinage from metallurgical point of view. With this end in view the archaeological laboratories of the department of A.I.H.C. & Archaeology in collaboration with the Metallurgy Department, both of the Banaras Hindu University have made a small start in this direction. Since this article might be of interest both to the metallurgists and numismatists, technical jargon of metallurgy has been as for as possible avoided. Historical background has been provided for the non-numismatists.

Historical Survey of Indian Coinage. Though man heralded metals— Gold, Copper and Silver as early as 4th millennium B.C., yet it took quite a long time for the metals to be equated with wealth or money. In the beginning trade was carried out by barter-exchange of certain agreed commodities. In India cow was big unit of barter and smaller purchases were made by cowrie shell. Substitution of cow by metal of equivalent value started with gold. Early history of coinage in India is obscure. Amongst the Indus people though a system of weight was evolved, no system of coinage had emerged. In Vedic and Late Vedic period, Niska, Hiranyapinda, Suvarna, Satmana etc. were probably metal pieces of some definite shape, size, weight and value. These were probably of gold, electrum or silver; these were minted either by the state itself or for the state on order. Certain small ingots of silver with three circular dots, are probably the example of the earliest existing Indian coinage. These are followed by heavy bent bars of silver with certain devices punched on one side. These coins come into circulation pro-

bably prior to 600 B.C. A little later around 500 B.C. we get what are termed as Punch-marked coins and these are reported in thousands from all the parts of India. These are rectangular and circular flat pieces, based on alloys of silver and copper. These are cut from a sheet of metal and clipped to proper weight. Though we find the emergance of coinage in Lydia which are made of gold around 700 B.C. Yet most authorities agree on the basis of shapes, size, form, and weight that punch marked coins are indigenous in origin and owe nothing to any foreign influence. After the Punch-marked coins we get a series of coins e.g. coins of Indo-Greeks, Sakas and the Pahalvas, Local and Tribal coins, Kushan coins, Gupta coins, coins of Medieval Hindu Dynasties, coinage of Kashmir, South Indian coinage of Delhi Sultans, Mughal coinage and later coinage.

For the present study we have selected two punch marked coins, a coin of about 9th century and a silver coin of Islam shah (1545-53) the forerunner of India Rupee. All the coins investigated are based on silver rich alloys.

Scope of this study. Once metals were equated with money, their inherent qualities—easy fabricability on account of their softness, pleasing colour and lustre, their resistance against corrosion, wear and chemical attack made them pre-eminently suitable for coinage. Gold, electrum, silver, copper and their alloy are among the first to be utilized for this purpose.

Because the coins could have been made with greatest care, utilising all the metallurgical knowledge and skill, these would be the best representations of the contemporary metallurgy of the period to which these coins belong and as such they could convey wealth of information about the ancient metallurgy.

The chemical analysis would directly tell us the composition of the coin, the principal metal and alloying elements. The impurities present in the metal could be very revealing regarding the metallurgical process of extraction of the principal metal, the equipment and even temperature available to the metallurgist for extraction of the metal.

The metallographic examination of the coin could give information about micro-structure and the amounts of the principal and trace impurity present and thereby testifying to the art and science of its smelting, casting, fabrication, processing, heat treatment, stamping and em-

bossing and other metallurgical details. These supplemented by hardness measurement can throw further light on the metallurgical processes. The macro examination of the superficial features of the coin is also helpful in elucidating the perfection of final finishing operation.

The Archaeological Details : The type of coin, their source and location, symbols and other attributes, their date, weight, size and macro-features are shown in the table 1. Pl. XI,7—10 shows the photographs of the obverse and reverse sides of the coins.

(See Table 1 for Archaeological and other details)

Experimental Procedures

Chemical Analysis : A small portion of the coin (0.1 to 0.2 gm) was clipped for the purpose of the chemical analysis. The coin was dissolved in conc. HNO_3, and the residue if any filtered off. Silver was precipitated as AgCl and determined gravimetrically. Lead when present was determined as $PbSO_4$. Copper was precipitated as cuprous thiocyanate. Nickel was determined as dimethyl glyoxime complex. Qualitative tests were made for the identification of As, Sb, Bi, Fe, Ni, Co, and S.

Metallographic Examination : The coins were mounted in bakelite at a maximum temperature of 150°C and a maximum load of half a ton. They were ground over successively finer grades of emery paper (from one zero to four zero) and then polished on sylvet cloth on rotating discs containing fine alumina abrasive powder. Finally they were given a finishing hand polish with silvo.*

These polished surfaces were examined under a metallurgical microscope to reveal non-metallic inclusions. Then the surfaces were etched (chemically reacted) with aqua regia (1 part nitric acid plus 3 parts hydrochloric acid). The etching removed a deformed layer produced by the polishing operation and imparted distinguishing contrast to the various microstructural constituents, the edge of the coin No. 4, could not be etched by aqua regia but was successfully etched by freshly prepared mixture of ammonium hydroxide (3 parts) and hydrogen peroxide (5 parts).

* The coins are soft and very easily get scratched by foreign particles or harder fragments released from their own impurities (e. g. slag or oxide inclusions) and hence require special care for polishing.).

Examination of the micro-structures :

The polished and the etched surfaces were examined in a metallographic microscope (Leitz panphot) under magnification varying from 50 to 1000. Photographic recording was made at suitable magnification with in the above range using a high pressure xenon lamp as a source of light and green filter.

Hardness Measurement:

In the present investiagtion the coins were indented in a Vicker's hardness tester with a diamond pyramid indentor under 5 kg. load. The hardness values were obtained as average of several readings (at least three) by taking the diagonals of the square indentations and then calculated to hardness values (Vicker Hardness Number V H N in Kg/mm^2) by standard charts.

Results :

The results of the chemical composition, hardness measurement and characteristic microstructures are presented in table II. The photomicrographs are given below (Pl. XIV—XVI).

Discussion :

Chemical composition : Most of the coins indicate the presence of lead. This is also detected in metallography as small globules. The silver for the coins might have been extracted from lead bearing natural ores of silver. These are mostly sulphide ores of which argentiferrous galena is an example. Native silver occurring as almost pure virgin silver usually does not contain lead and may be ruled out. Besides, the occurrance and quantity of native silver is rarer than gold. Gowland[1] believed that native silver played no part in man's early history. Firstly native silver occurs in deep veins and not near the surface, secondly native silver occurs as in the form of leaves, filaments and granules and cannot be used without melting, thirdly it easily corrodes to silver chloride (Cerargyrite) by soil water.

The extraction of silver from the sulphide ore must have been through processes of roasting the ore to oxide, followed by reduction with carbonaceous materials (e.g. charcoal) and finally removal of lead and other easily oxidisable impurities by cupellation. The recovery of silver was carried by cupellation which has been practised for 4000 years in

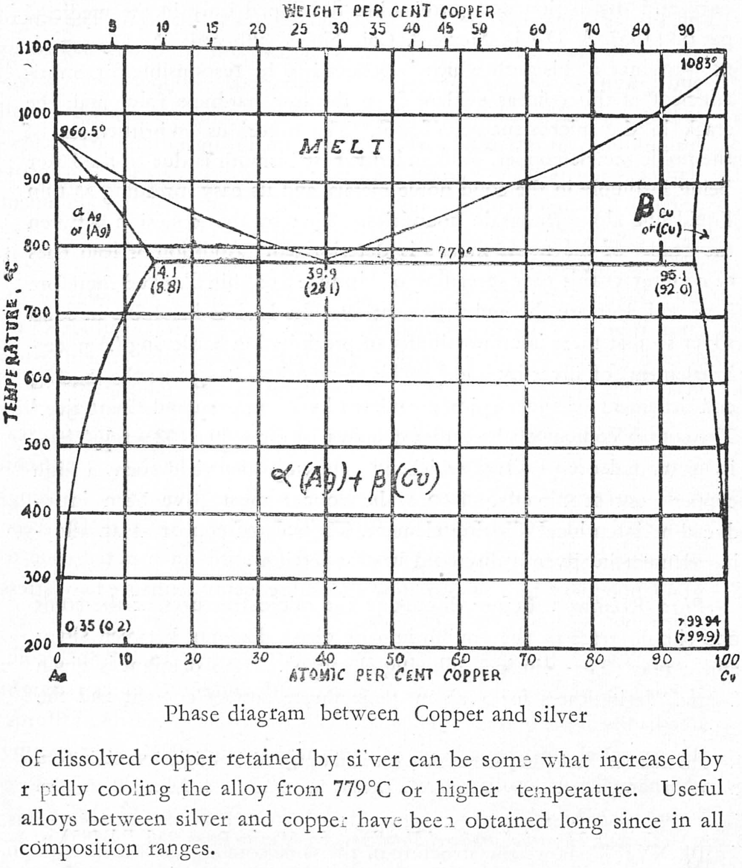
1. W. Gowland, Silver in Roman and Early Times, *Arch.* 1917-18, 69, pp. 121—160.

the old world. It involves the oxidation of lead to litharge and of any other base metals which are dissolved in litharge. Silver is left unaltered while litharge is absorbed by the cupel or is skimmed off. A temperature of about 1000°C is required. There is reference to indigenous method of cupellation in Kautilya Arthshastra (89)[1], the 4th cent. B. C. document about heating silver with lead in skull, which consists chiefly of calcium phosphate. It may be pointed out that the hydrometallurgical technique of leaching the ores with salt and acids and subsequent extraction of silver by concentration or amalgamation with mercury and distillation and purification developed only in the medieval period (1557 A. D.) in Mexico[2]. Coin No. 3 (9th cent. A. D.) reveals the presence of bismuth which is believed to be responsible for embrittlement of this coin as evident from the low hardness value and the crack in the microstructure (fig. 5). The notorious embrittlement of the noble metals copper, gold and silver by bismuth is due to the latter being insoluble in the solid noble metals and its easy spreading as thin liquid film along the grain boundries. Thereby the cohesion between the grains of the noble metals is deteriorated. Addition of lead tries to counteract this easy spreading of bismuth as a thin film and therefore it should decrease the embrittlement. Besides lead is insoluble in solid silver so that there is no possibility of precipitation hardening (Age embrittlement) of silver by lead.[3] This Conclusion is against the ageing embrittlement of silver coins postulated by Thompson and Chatterjee.[4] The copper content of the earlier coins varies from 20 to 32 wt. % There is no natural ore of silver which on smelting can yield such a high copper content directly. Hence the copper must have been introduced as intentional alloying element. The role of copper as an alloying element in silver is discussed in next sections.

Phase Relations: Before discussing the microstructures of the coins one should refer to the equilibrium or phase diagram between silver and copper (The principal alloying elements). This diagram is given below. It indicates for a given temperature copper content and the

1. The number within the parenthesis refers to the page of the original Sanskrit Text.
2. The History of silver by Donald Mc Donald in '*Silver*' Ed. Allison Butts, Van Nostrand (1967), p. 4.
3. A. H. Cotterll, *Theoretical structural Metallurgy*, St. Martins Press, 2nd Ed. 1959, p. 151.
4. F. C. Thompson and A. K. Chatterjee, 'The age embrittlement of silver coins' *Conservation* 1954, I, No. 3, p. 115,

number of phases, their compositions and relative amounts for equilibrium (slowly cooled) conditions. The Figure shows that the melting point of silver decreases from 960.5°C upto 779°C on increasing copper additions from O to 28.1 wt.%. In solid silver, the maximum solubility of copper decreases from 8.8 to 0.2 wt.% on decreasing the temperature from 779°C to 200°C. Thus most silver based alloys of copper will show a mixture of two microconstituents at room temperature e.g. almost pure silver and an eutectic (intimate lamellar mixtures) of silver and copper rich solid solutions (α Ag and β Cu) respectively. The amount



Phase diagram between Copper and silver

of dissolved copper retained by silver can be some what increased by rapidly cooling the alloy from 779°C or higher temperature. Useful alloys between silver and copper have been obtained long since in all composition ranges.

With regard to minor alloying elements and impurities detected by chemical analysis e.g. lead, bismuth, antimony, iron and nickel and

calcium oxide, it may be noted here that all are insoluble in solid silver. Therefore when the corresponding melt is solidified, these elements should prec pitate as essentially pure elements or compounds of silver. Their quantities are too small to be detected by optical metallography. However many of the inclusions detected in the micro—structures can be attributed to these precipitates.

Microstructures : The early period Taxila Punch Marked coins show essentially cast structures consisting of silver rich solid solution (light etching) dendrites and eutectic lamellae of silver rich and copper rich phases, as indicated by the photomicrographs (Pl. XIV) The micro structures also reveal presence of spherical and irregular inclusions and cavities presumably due to entrapped copper and silver oxides formed in the melt. The spherical inclusions may be small lead globules as discussed earlier. If skimming operation during cupellation is not perfect certain slag particles may have also been incorporated. The microconstituents show slight elongation and alignment by orientation without disturbing the dendritic and cast features. The material must have been slightly hammered around room temperature after casting. Pl. XV, 1. shows the micro structure of the edge of the coin near the surface of punch marks. The microconstituents are curved around the punch marks. This indicates that the punching has been done at room temperature without subsequent annealing.

Pl XV, 2. shows the microstructure of the coin 3 from Rajghat excavations, which on the stratigraphical basis can be dated to 9th Cent. A. D. It consists of primary copper rich solid solution (dark etching) dendrites and fine eutectic lamellae. The entire structure has been compressed possibly by cold work on the embrittled material (due to grain boundary film of bismuth) and subsequently enhanced by stress corrosion.

Pl. XVI, 1. Shows the micro structure of 16th century Islam Shah coin. It consists of equiaxed grains of silver with annealing twins (straight line bands in the grains). The material is free from any casting features. The material must have been well annealed around 500°C after casting and hammering into sheets.

The low value of its hardness (about 80 VHN) also supports this. Pl. XVI, 2. shows the structure of the same coin around the inscription.

This also shows curving of the constituents around the area. Also it reveals presence of many sets of parallel slip bands (straight lines

TABLE I.

Showing historical and other details of the coins under study.

Sr. No.	Coin type & shape	Location & source	Symbols and other surface attributes	Approx. date	Weight	Size	Other macro features
1.	Punch marked coin round	Taxila Hoard (Deptt. of A. I. H. C. & Arch. B. H. U.)	Obv. Sun, Crescent on bull Rev. not clear	400 BC	3.05 gm.	1.59 cm. (diameter)	rounded edges with minute craks
2.	Punch marked coin rectangular	Taxila Hoard (Deptt. of A.I.H. C & Arch. B. H. U.)	Obv. Sun, six armed crescent on hill, Rev. Two symbols but not clear	400 BC	2.1 gm.	1.2 cm × 1.4 cm	no side craks
3.	Round coin	Rajghat Varanasi	Geometeric design	900 AD	1.8 gm	1.8 cm (diameter)	cracked rounded edges.
4.	Islam Shah (Rupee type)	Varanasi	Kalma and name of Islam Shah in Persian and Devnagri script	1543—53AD	10.9 gm	2.6 cm diam.	No cracks, visible deep and clear embossing.

TABLE II

Showing results metallurgical details and chemical analysis

Sr. No.	Quantitative chemical composition	Impurities	Hardness V. H. N. Kg/mm²	Characteristic micro constituents	Approx. Melting point	Febrication technique	Reference
1.	Ag—78.40% Cu—20.12% Residue—1.20%	Fe, Ni, Co, Pb	105	Dendrites of silver and eutectic of Ag and Cu Spherical and irregular cavities	810 C	Cast and then mildly pressed	Pl. XIV, 1
2.	Ag—72.08% Cu—25.16% Residue—2.40%	Fe, Ni, Co, Pb	150	Similar as above, less inclusions. Edge view : Eutectic and other constituents are bent around the punch marks.	790 C	Cast, cold punched by dies.	Pl. XIV, 2 Pl. XV, 1
3.	Cu—32.14 Ag—61.54 Pb—0.50 Insol.—3.4	Bi, Sb, Ni	89	Cu(dark) globules and eutectic, compressed elongated, interconnected crack.	810 C	Cast, moderately cold worked without subsequent annealing	Pl. XV, 2
4.	Cu—2.13 Ag—96.24 Fe—0.75 CaO—0.68	Ni	80	Face : Equiaxaed, single phase grains of Ag, few globular inclusions annealing twins. Edge : grains bent around embossing marks, crack and slip bands.	940	Annealed sheet is finally cold embossed	Pl. XVI, 1 Pl. XVI, 2

originally from glide of crystal planes due to stamping at room temperature (cold work). It can be concluded that coin has been embossed by a process of cold stamping with finely engraved dies. The presence of side crack near the embossing mark indicates the deformation by localized cold work. The embossing is not severe enough to disturb the annealed structure of the interior of the coin.

Conclusion : The 1st three coins show that the composition of these coins is such as to give optimum strength, hardness and wear resistance and lowering of melting point. The presence of lead in traces shows that the ores used for obtaining the metal were argentiferous galena. The low percentage of lead shows that cupellation was carried out with great perfection. The crack effect observed in the coin No. 3 is probably due to the presence of bismuth. Comparative absence of slag inclusions as revealed from photomicrograph shows that the metal was cast from completely molten metal. The debasement of silver by copper is deliberate and its purpose might be both economizing silver and providing strength and wear resistance.

The compostion of coin No. 4, Islam Shah shows a high content of silver. This has helped to obtain a deep and clear embossing of the legends over the coin. The presence of slip bands reveals that coin blanks were stamped cold.

Fabrication Technique : The Punch-marked coins must have been obtained essentially from a cast metal pieces from the metal of appropriate composition followed by minor amount of compression. (The metallographic examination shows cast dendritic and eutectic structure, the evidence of any cold working is limited to unidirectional orientation of micro-constituents).

The coins might have been clipped from a cast sheet, which might have been slightly hammered to give uniform thickness. Cast sheet might have been obtained by pouring the super hot melt on flat substrate.

Punch marks might have been incorporated by striking with a hard die (say of bronze) at room temperature (as testified by the curving of the microconstituents around the punch marks).

The coin from Rajghat must have been obtained similarly except that it has been subjected to more extensive compression. The crack, as pointed out earlier, is on account of embrittling effect of bismuth. The crack might have been accentuated due to cold working.

Islam Shah coin must have been obtained by cold working (hammering etc.) the cast metal into a sheet and then annealing at about 400°C. The circular blanks were cut from this soft annealed sheet then embossed on both sides simultaneously by striking appropriate dies. The softness of the material and good hard dies must be responsible for the clear embossing on this coin[1].

1. The authors are thankful to Prof. A. K. Narain head of the deptt. A. I. H. C. & Archaeology, who very kindly provided us the coins for this study. We are also thankful to Prof. T. R. Anantraman, head of the Metallurgy Department for extending the facilities for this study. Thanks are also due to Shri K. D. Mishra of the archaeological laboratories who helped in the prepration of the samples for this study.

NOTES & NEWS

Dear numismatists all over the world,

We want to found a great numismatic collection that would be the result of the great help of the numismatists form all over the world. We should like that our collection would be able to connect the numismatists from every part of the world. Your little help will be very useful to us. It will also be useful to you.

Therefore, please, don't forget this letter and give us your help in numismatic material and money. When you send us anything, please, put your address and let us know about field of numismatic interest and foreign languages you know.

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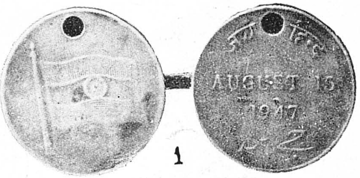
1-4. Indo-Greek Coins; 5-6. Kushāṇa Coins; 7. Coins of Kanishko (Late Kushāṇa); 8. Title Devaputra on Kushāṇa Coin

1-3. Coins of Prahata; 4. Coin of King Sebaka; 5-14. Uninscribed Coins in Allahabad Museum; 15. Silver Portrait Coin of Vaśishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi; 16. Unnoticed Western Kshatrapa Coin.



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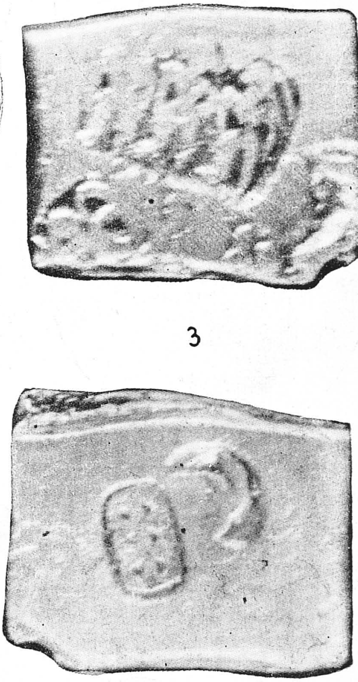

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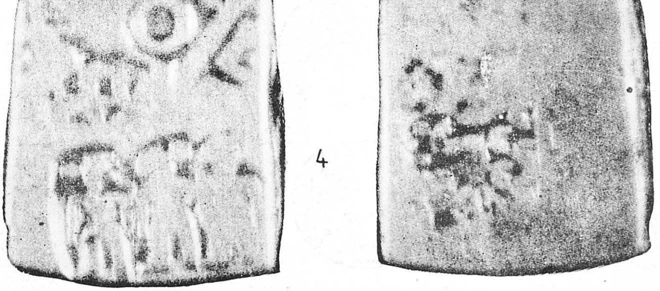

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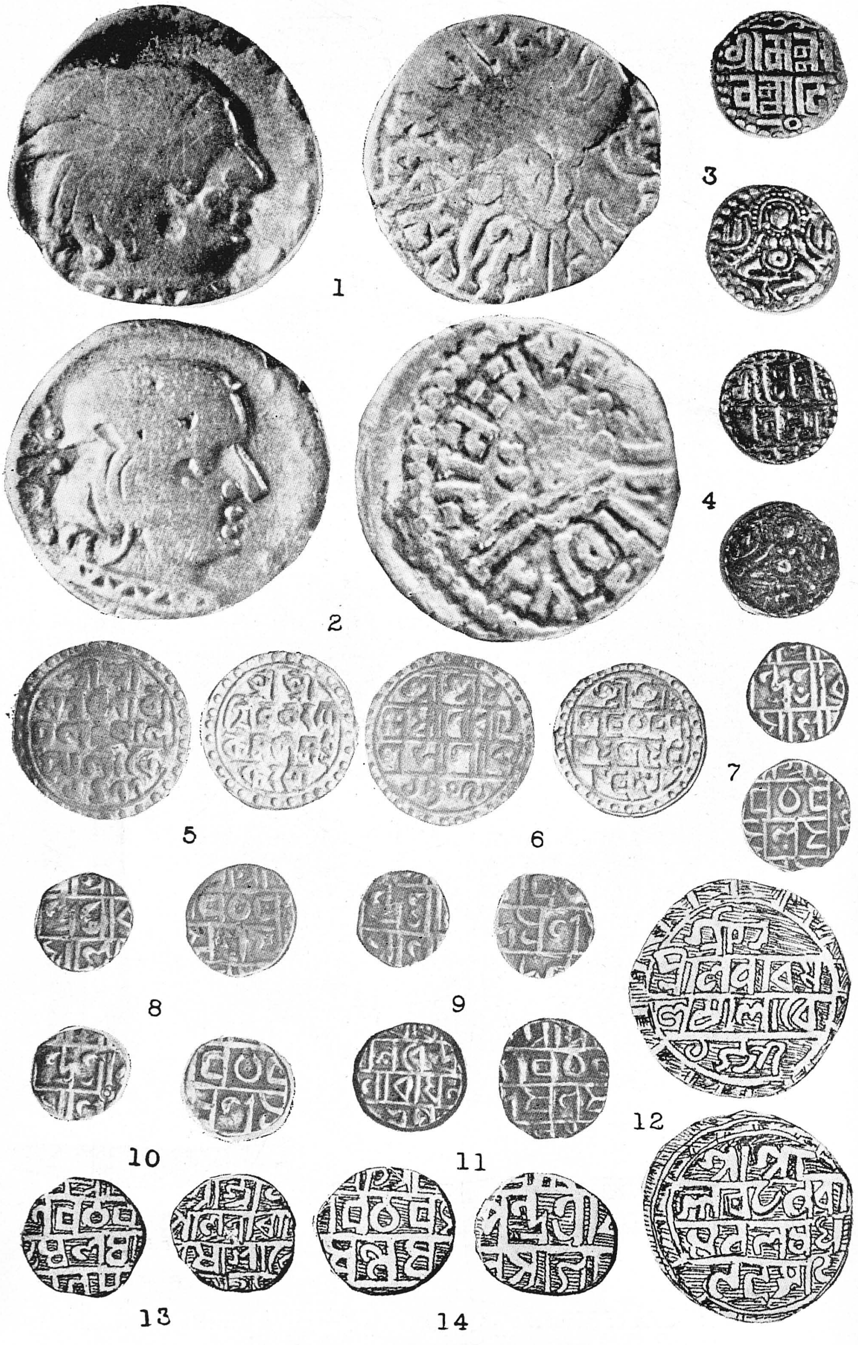
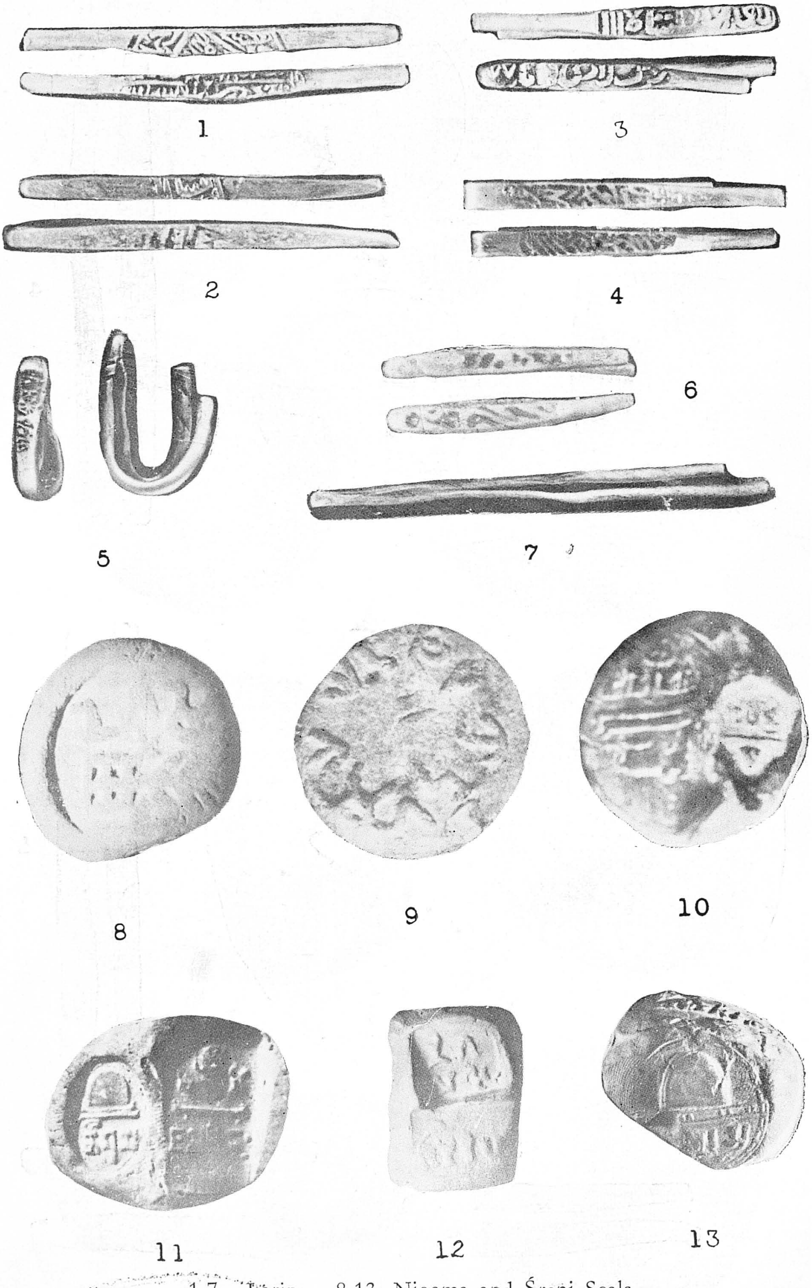
1. Independence Day Commemorative Medal;
2. Coin of Sujyeshṭha; 3-4. Punch-Marked Coins

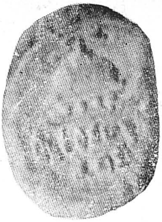


1-2. Kshatrapa Coins from Vidarbha; 3-4. Coins of Parmar Naravarman;
5-14. Coins of Cooch Behar.

1. Coin of Mahārānā Kumbhā; 2-3. Coin of 'Sijistān Barbarous' Series of Arab-Sasanian; 4-7. Larins.



1-7. Larins; 8-13. Nigama and Śreṇi Seals.



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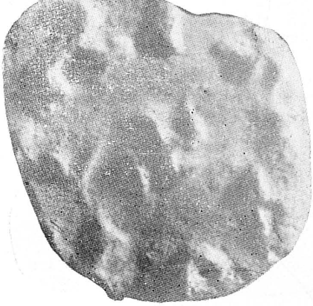

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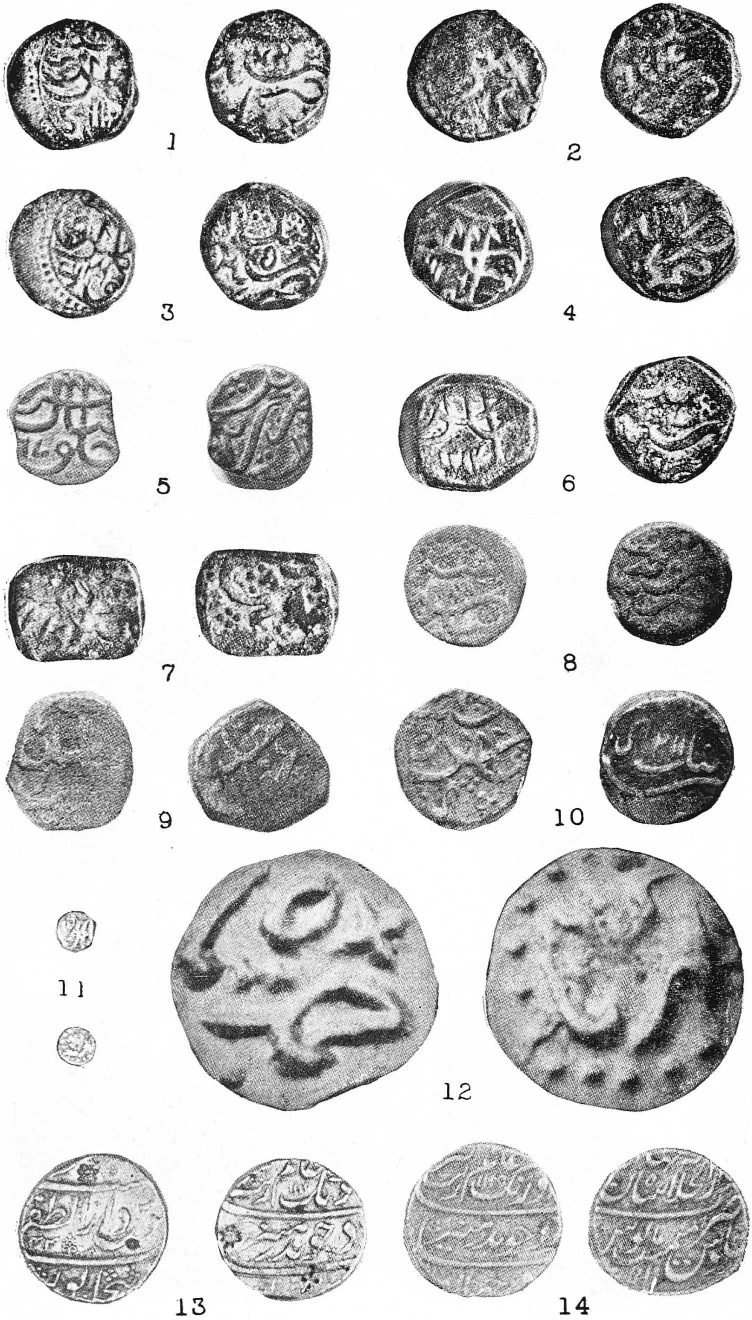
1-10. Nigama and Śreṇi Seals.



1-10. Coins of Machlipatan Bandar Mint; 11-12. Coin of Ahmad Shāh Bahādur; 13. Counter-struck Vithoba Coin of Aurangzeb. 14. Coin of Aurangzeb minted after death.

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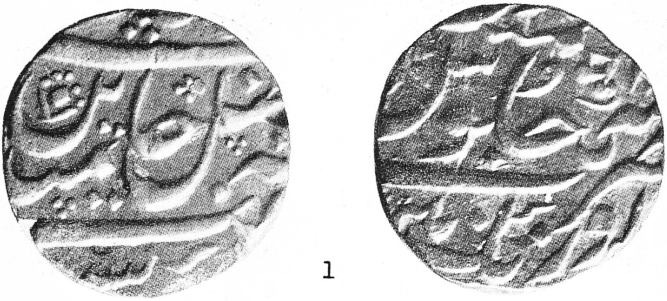
1-4. Coins in Baroda Museum.



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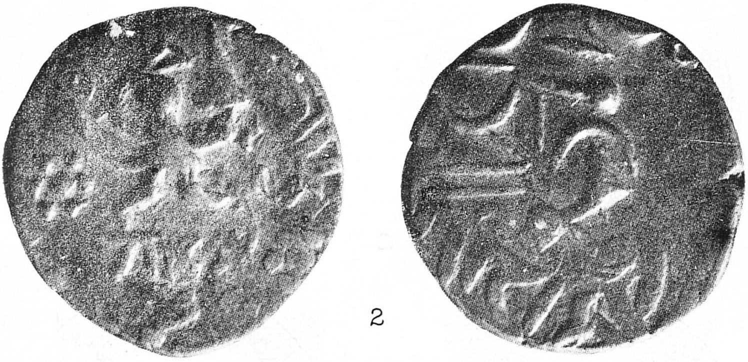

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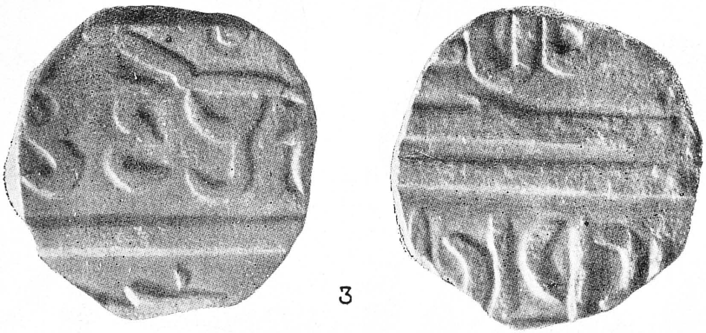

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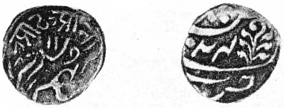
1-3. Coins in Baroda Museum; 4. Coin of Ahmad Shāh Bahmani I; 5. Standard Type Coin of Chandragupta II.



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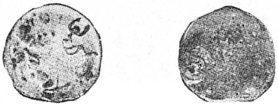

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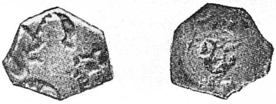

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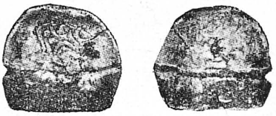

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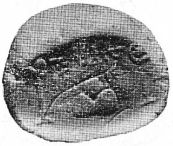

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1-3. Coins of Jaipur State; 4-6. Azad Hind Tokens; 7-10. General view of the Silver Coins under Metallurgical Study; 11-12. Sealings in Allahabad Museum.

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1-8. Seals bearing the names of Ayodhya Kings.

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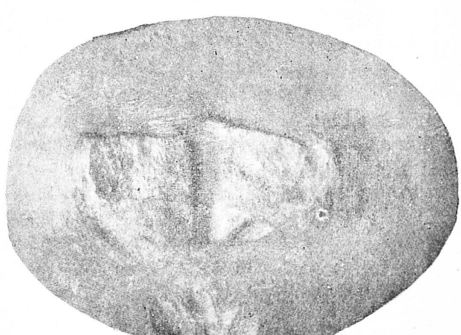

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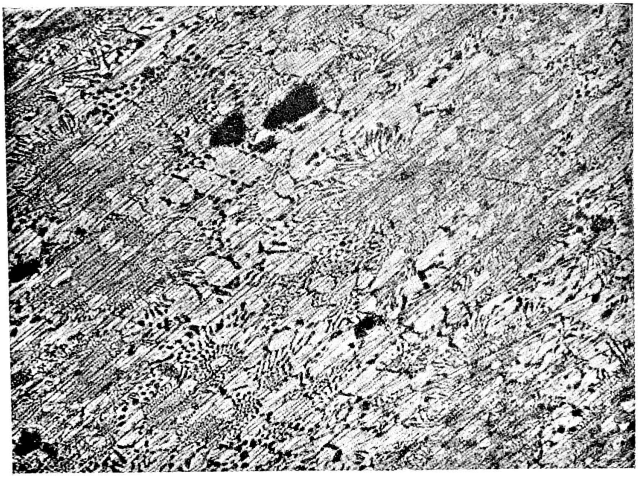
1-3. Sealings from Sanghal and Sunet; 4. A religious Sealing from Sunet; 5. Sealing from Paunar.



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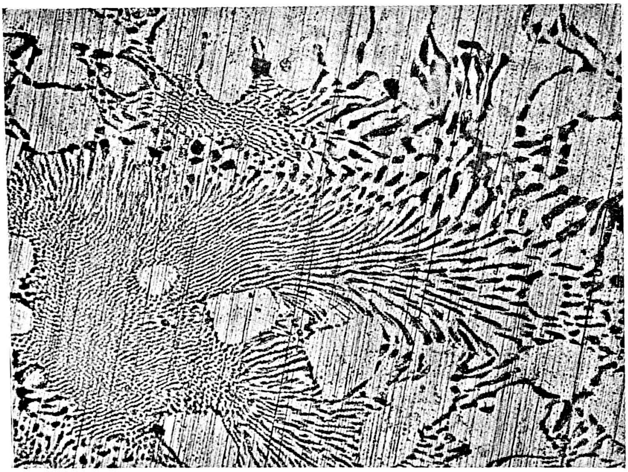
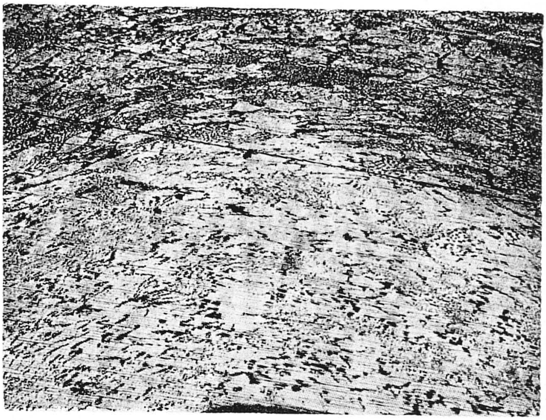


2

1-2. Photomicrographs of coin nos 1 and 2 respectively (x 200) showing silver rich solid solution(light etching) dendrities and eutectic lamellae of silver rich and copper rich phases. Etched by aqua regia.



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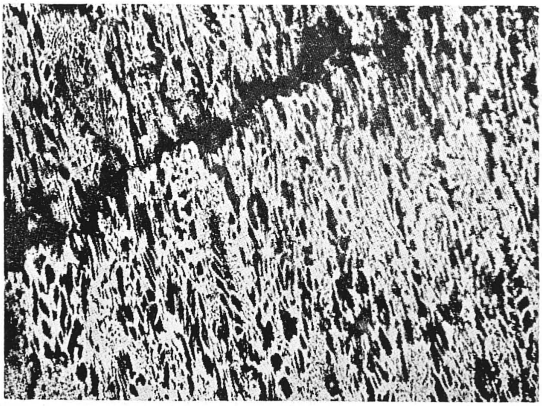
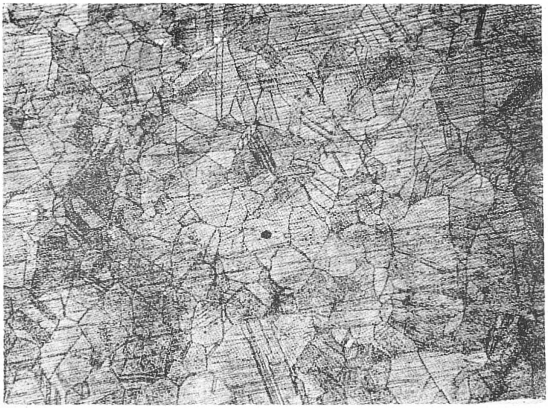


2

1. Photomicrograph showing the micro-structure of the edge of the P.M. no. 2 coin near the surface of the punch marks. The eutectic and other microconstituents are seen curved around the punch marks. Etched by aqua regia (x 200.)

2. Photomicrograph showing the microconstituents of the Rajghat Coin, consisting of copper rich solid solution (dark etching) dendrites and fine eutectic lamallae. Etched by aqua regia (x 200.)



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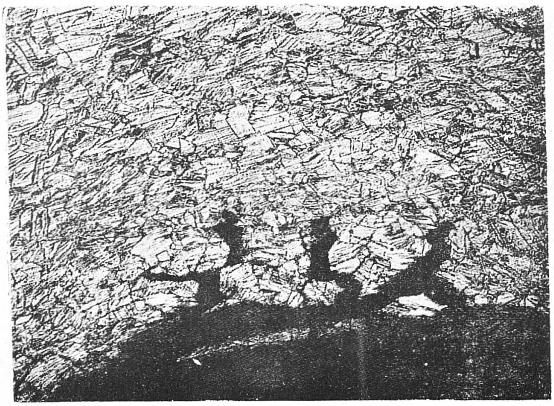

2

1. Photomicrograph showing the micro-constituents of the Islam Shah coin consisting of equiaxed single phase grains of silver with annealing twins. Etched by NH_4OH (3Parts) : H_2O_2 (5 parts) (x 200.)

2. Photomicrograph of the Islam Shah coin. The microconstituents show curving and also reveal slip bands due to cold working. Etched as above. (x 200.)

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ḍ ڈ ; d د ; kh خ ; h ح ; ch چ; j ج ; th ث; ṭ ٹ; t ت; p پ;
b ب; a ا; a ع; z ظ ; t̤ ط ; z ض; ṣ ص; sh ش ; s س ; zh ژ ;
z ز; ṛ ڑ; r ر; z ذ ; y ی ; h ه; w و ; n ن; m م ; l ل ; g گ;
k ک; q ق; f ف; gh غ

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